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PREFATORY NOTE

THE following transcript of *Harleian*, 6382, in the British Museum Library, was made many years ago with the intention of collating it with other manuscripts of the Life of Fisher, ascribed to Richard Hall, and adding it to the Works of Cardinal Fisher published by the Early English Text Society. The project has not advanced beyond the setting up in type of the transcript of *Harleian*, 6382. But the transcript is now printed in the hope that it may be found by students a useful addition to the English and Latin Lives published with full notes and introductory matter by the learned Bollandist Father, Fr. Van Ortoy, in the *Analecta Bollandiana*.



[*Harleian MS. 6382. Brit. Mus. Library.*]

¹ A Treatise containinge the
lyfe and manner of death
of that most holy prelat
and constant martyr of
christ, John Fisher Bishop
of Rochester, and Cardinall
of the holy church of Rome.

THE LIFE OF FISHER.

¹IN the yere of our Redemption 1459, and in the seaven and thirtieth yere of the most noble & vertuous prince, Kinge Henry the sixt, this holy father and profound Doctor was borne and christned at Beverley, in the province of Yorke, a towne dystant from London northward, about eight score myles, where sometime *the* blessed and glorious Confessor, St. John of Beverley, Archbyshop of Yorke, lived and preached. In his baptisme he was named John, of his godfathers, *which* name he belyed not, as by the discourse of his most gracious lyfe shall most cleerly appeare: His parents were of honest state and condition, and by trade of marchandise left behind them a competent wealth; from whose honestie, he, by his singuler vertue and learninge, did nothinge detract, but rather added much more then he could receive of them: for vertue and learninge be things so excellent of themselves, that they purchase commendac[i]ouns, both in him in whom they are resident, and to them also of whom he shall descende; yea, more then they can geve him.

Robert Fysher his father, after he had lived many yeres in good estimation and credit, dyed, leavinge behind him this John Fysher of whom we now speake; ²and Robert, both in their tender age. Their mother Ann, in proceffe of time, marryed againe to one named 'wight,' by whom she boare three sonnes, named John, Thomas, and Richard, and one daughter called Elizabeth, which after was professed a Nun in Dartford. And yet she, lyke a tender mother, was not so affected to her second husband & children that she neglected the first, but remayninge verie carefull of their good educacion, caused her two

¹ Fol. 2.

² Fol. 2, back.

sonnes John and Robert, begotten of her first husbande, to be put to learninge at the expences of such goodes as their father had left them; and to that end she committed them both to a preist of the Church of Beverley, a Collegiat Church of preistes richly indowed of auncient time with landes and possessions, by whom they were (amonge other children) instructed and taught the first letters and rudiments of grammer. But this our John Fisher so far excelled the rest of his schoole fellowes in his learninge, that it was evident to see even then, wherto he tended, and what he was lyke to prove vnto in time to come, betokening no doubt the name of 'fisher,' descending from the father, to be in this his sonne John most properly verified, as in whom it pleased god to elect a fysher of men, which he after proved in very deed.

¹After when he came to more mature and wyfe yeres, his mother and other frendes beinge still carefull of his weldoinge, began to consider amonge themselves for what trade of lyfe he was most fitt: And after they had perceived in him a great dexteritye and aptnes towards learninge; and had further noted him to be, (as he was indeed) naturally indowed with a sober and deep witt, a perfect and stedfast memorie, and a will prompt & forward to learne; they thought amonge themselves no way so good as to continewe him at studie; and thervpon, by a generall consent, he was sent to the vniverstie of Cambrige, (distant from his native soile about eight daies iorney fowthward,) which then flowed in learninge, and was througly frequented and furnished with Doctors & schollers comminge from all parts of England, as of auncient time had bene accustomed.

This John, beinge nowe come to Cambrige, was there committed to the government of *maister* william Melton, a reuerend preist and grave Devine; then *maister* of the College called Michael howse, and Doctor of Divinitie: vnder whom he so profited, that in fewe yeres he became singularly well learned, as well in humanitie, as in logicke; philosophie and other sciences: not ignorant, but well acquainted, ²with the greeke and heabrew tonges which were then verie straungers in this land. Beinge thus furnished and instructed,

¹ Fol. 3.

² Fol. 3, back.

he proceeded to the degrees of Schoole, and commenced Bachelor of Artes in the yere of our lord 1488, and *maister* of Artes the third yere after: and beinge elected fellowe of that howse: he was also shortly after chofen Proctor of the vniverfitie: In which space accordinge to the auncient lawes and statutes of his Colleage, he received the holy orders of preifthood. After which time he fell to more profitable learninge, and, leaving all his former studie, betooke himself to the high and heavenly philosophie, in which, accordinge to the order of schollers, he kept his disputacion with great laude and commendacion, so that in short space he grew to such profoundnes, that he was easily accounted the flower of all *the* vniverfitie, and at his dewe time proceeded to the dignitie of Bachelor, and after, Doctor of divinity, which, with no small praise he achieved in the yere of *Christ* 1502.

¹Whiles these things were thus in doinge, it chanced Doctor Melton (whom we before mentioned) to be preferred to the roome of a Chancellor within the Church of Yorke; wherby the maisters place of Michael howse in Cambrige became voyd, whervnto the fellowes, falling to election of a new maister, thought none more fit for all causes then Doctor Fyther; and therefore, by a full agreement amonge them, they chose him maister in the place of Doctor Melton, sometime his Tutor. Then fell it out that the ould proverbe teacheth: '*Magistratus arguit virum*'; for who was more fit to rule and play the maister, then he that before was well and quyetly ruled whilest he was a scholler: which in him was well verified, for after he had continewed certaine yeres in the government of his Colleage, he so demeand himself in that office, that he became not only a myrror or patron to the rest that governed in their feuerall howses in *the* vniversity, but was also for his worthines chofen vice chancellor, which roome he inioyed twife together, and therby ruled the whole vniverfitie to his great commendacion and praise.

At length his name grewe so famous, *that*, passinge the bondes of the vniverfitie, it spred over all *the* Realme, in so much as the noble and vertuous ladie, Margaret, ²Countesse of Richmond and Darbie, mother to the wise and sage prince kinge Henrie the viith, hearinge

¹ Fol. 4.² Fol. 4, back.

of his great vertue and learninge, ceased not till she had procured him out of the vniversitie to her service, by meane wherof he resigned the maisterhip of Michaell howse and lefte the vniversitie for *that* time. After he had a space remayned with this noble ladie, she perceived his vertue and good lyfe farr to exceed the fame that before she heard of him, and thervpon soone after made him her ghostly father : wherin after he was a while establisht, he ordered himselfe so discretly, so temperatly and so wyfely, that both she and all her familie were governed by his high wifdome and discretion, wherby at last he became greatly reuerenced and beloved, not only of the vertuous ladie, and all her howshold, but also of the kinge her sonne, with whom he was in no lesse estimation and credit all his lyfe after then with his Mistres : which appeared well not only in the kings lyfe time, but also after his death, for he left him vpon speciall trust for one of his Executors.

¹ Thus remayninge in service with the Countesse of Richmond, he thought with himselfe not good to spend his daies in ydlenes, but calling to his remembrance, that whosoever foweth but litle shall reape but litle, gave himselfe wholly to praetyce that which he had now well learned : and so bent himselfe fully to proceed in works of mercy. And wheras of himselfe he was not able to accomplishe this charitable and liberall enterpryse for lacke of substance to answere the same, he studyed by all the meanes he could to provoke others of more abilitie to supplie his wante ; amonge whom he forgot not this worthie Countesse his *Mistres* who although of her selfe she was verie liberall and bountifull to all sorts of people, yet no doubt through his occasion she much enlarged the same, not only in her dayly almes amonge such as were poore, but also in redemption of Captives, reperacion of Bridges, and high waies, rewardes towards poore maides marriages, and diuers other lyke. But he was not satisfied with this worldly foode, for at his perswasion she erected two notable and goodly Colleges in Cambrige, out of which have sprang manie notable and profound learned men to *the* great profit and comoditie of the whole Church of Christe, ² wherof the one she dedicated to Christ our Saviour and called it Christe College ; largely indowing yt with

¹ Fol. 5.² Fol. 5, back.

good landes and poffeffions, for maintaynance of learninge and science for euer, and saw yt perfectly in her lyfe time built and finifhed of ftone & brick as it now ftandeth. The other College ſhe dedicated to St. John the Evangelift, and gave to the ſame poffeffions for lyke intent and purpoſe; But for as much as this College of St. John was by him finifhed after her death vpon her goods & poffeffions with ſome helpe of his owne, more ſhall be declared hereafter.

She alſo vpon his motion ordayned a divinitye Lecture in Cambrige and an other in Oxforde, to be openly read in the ſchooles for eaſe of ſuch as ſhould be preachers. To the intent that the darke and hard places of holy ſcripture might therby be opened and expounded, and for continewance of them both ſhe gave good landes wheron the Readers ſtipend ſhould be paid for euer.

¹This good father proceeding thus in deeds of charitie, partly procured by the liberallitie of others, and partly by his owne goods ſo farr as his abilitie would permitt, beſides his daily preaching to the people with moſt carefull dilligence, became at laſt greatly loved & reuerenced of all ſortes of people, eſpecially of the reuerend and fatherly Biſhoppes then living in England, amonge whom the moſt worthie and grave prelate, Doctor Richard Foxe, Biſhopp of wincheſter, then in noe ſmall eſtimacion and authoritie with king Henrie the ſeaventh (of whoſe Counſell he was) boare towards him a great affection and good will, highly commending him to the kinge alwaies when he ſawe convenient time and place; only for the vertuous lyfe and perfect ſanctitie he perceived in him.

It happened that about the ſame time by the death of *Maſter* William Barnes, Biſhopp of London, *Maſter* Richard Fitzjames, then byſhop of Rocheſter, was tranſlated from thence to the Sea of London: wherby *the* biſhopricke of Rocheſter became void. Then the kinge (as he to whom the nominacion of the next incumbent by cuſtome of the Realme belongeth) began to conſider with himſelf where a fitt and worthie paſtor might be found; ²The place was deſired of manie and no ſolicitacion wanted to the kinge, every man ſetting forward his friend as affection led him: But the kinge of his

¹ Fol. 6.

² Fol. 6, back.

owne meere motion, inspired by the holy ghoſt, named Doctor Fiſher his mothers Chaplaine to *that* Biſhoprick contrarie to the expectation, as well of them that wiſhed the place as of many others: and directing his letters to the Chappeter of the Church, required them to name the nomination for their paſtor: whervnto they ſtraight waies agreed moſt gladly, without any contradiccion or negative voice of any one of them, and ſo offered vnto him the place ſoone after; But when Doctor Fyſher vnderſtood what was done, he vtterly reſuſed the offer, and would in no wyſe accept ſuch a charge. Neuertheles at laſt by perſwaſion of many of his frendes that declared vnto him the great neceſſitie of the Church at that time, and ſpecially of his old frend the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he accepted the burthen, much againſt his will, and ſhortly after was confirmed byſhop of Rocheſter from the Sea Apoſtolick by our holy father Julius the ſecond, in the monnth of October, the yere of our redemption 1504, and of his age *anno.* 45.

¹Now for that the king had thus ſodenly preferred this man to the high promociion of a Biſhoprick, being but a Chaplen to the Counteſſe his mother, & neuer yet aduanced to any other dignitie in the church before, many thought that it was by the cheefe procurement of his *Mistres* the lady Margaret, and ſoe diuers would ſay to the kinge; but indeed it was farre otherwiſe for the king when he heard any man ſpeake of yt, would ſolemnely affirme, and openly proteſt that he never promoted him to yt, ether vpon the ſuite of his mother or of any other perſon livinge, nether yet (as they call yt) for price or prayer, but only for the pure devotion, perfect ſancitie and great learninge he ſawe in him. Of which the kings bountifull liberalitie, he himſelf maketh alſo ſome mention in the Statutes of St. Johns College in Cambrige, praying much the honor of the kinge, at whoſe handes he ſo frankly and freely received this donation. He maketh alſo reherfall ſomewhat therof in his dedicatorie epiſtle to Richard, Biſhop of Wincheſter, before the booke he wrote againſt Oecolampadius, where he nameth *the* kinge for his cheefeſt and beſt patron, by the wordes of *which* epiſtle he ſeemeth to conceive much ioy and comforte, ²that it came to him in that ſorte.

¹ Fol. 7.² Fol. 7, back.

His wordes be theſe “Habeant alij proventus pinguioreſ etc.” Which may be thus engliſhed. “Although” (faith he) “ſome others have greater rentes and fatter benefices then I, yet I have in ſtedd thereof leſſe charge and cure of ſoules, ſo that when account ſhall be made of both (which vndoubtedly will be verie ſhortly) I would not wiſh my ſelf in better ſtate of livinge the valewe of one heare,”— which wordes were verie well confirmed by the ſequell of his doings : for although he was after at one time offered the Biſhoprick of Lincolne, and at an other time the Biſhoprick of Eelye, at the handes of King Henrie the viijth, any of them both being a farr greater livinge then Rocheſter was, yet would he neuer accept ſuch offer in that reſpect.

After this great and waightie preferment of a Biſhoprick, there fell alſo vnto him even at the ſame time an other promotion, of nether ſmall moment nor yet voyd of charge, for the vniverſitie of Cambrig, conſidering with themſelues what benefit they had received at his handes, and how much they were bound vnto him for the ſame, and doubting leſt they might ſeeme forgetfull or ingratefull of his goodnes and ¹ good will towards them alreadie ſhewed, determined to conſider him with all the honor they could, knowinge themſelves nether able to reward him with any riches, nor him (who looked for reward only at gods handes) deſirous of worldly wealth : and therefore by a full conſent they choſe him their high Chauncellor, which is the greateſt magiſtrate that they can make, for amonge them he beareth the authoritie and iuriſdiccion of an Archbiſhop, and is alſo their high iudge in all temperall cauſes.

My lord of Rocheſter having now receiued this dignity was not vnmindfull of that belonged to the ſame, for knowing indeed what a precious thing learninge is in all regimentes, and what they were ouer whom this his authoritie was to be vſed, he did not ſo much eſteeme the dignitie which it contayned, as he well wayed the care thervnto annexed. But before we declare any thing of his doings in the vniverſitie, I think it beſt to returne to his paſtorall cure at Rocheſter, & open vnto you ſomewhat of his proceeding there.

Beinge not ignorant of what a burdenous & terrible yoke he had

¹ Fol. 8.

taken vpon him by accepting the care of a Bifhoprick, he determined now to beſtowe all his wittes and fenſes how to play *the* part ¹ of a trew byſhop; And firſt becauſe there is ſmall hope of health in the members of that body where the head is ſicke, he began his viſitacion at his head Church of Rocheſter, calling before him the Pryor and monkes, exhorting them to obedience, chaſtitie, and trewe obſervacion of their monaſticall vowes, and where any falte was tried he cauſed it to be amended; After that he carefully viſited the reſt of the pariſhe Churches within his Dioceſſe in his owne perſon: and ſequeſtring all ſuch as he found vnworthie to occupye that high function, he placed other fitter in their roomes. And all ſuch as were accuſed of any crime, he put to their purgation, not ſparing the puniſhment of Simonie and Hereſie, with other crymes and abuſes: And by the way he omitted nether preaching to the people, nor confirming of children, nor releeving of needie and indigent perſons. Soe that by all meanes he obſerved a dewe comelines in the howſe of god, which being done, he returned him to his Cathedrall Church: and there to recount how vertuouſly, to the godly example of others, he ordered his life, it ſhould be tedious, were it not that the labour in reading may eaſily be recompensed with the great profit which the ſtudious of vertue may reape of ſo fruitefull ² examples; for there is nothing noted in him which may not greatly ſerve to the inſtruction of the vnlearned, & for godly immitacion of thoſe which otherwiſe be not ignorant.

It is an old ſaying and trewe: ‘well hath he lived that well hath lurked.’ Truly of all the Biſhoppes that we have knowne or heard of in our daies, it may beſt be ſaid, that this Biſhopp hath well lived, and well and ſecretly lurked: for who hath at any time ſeene him ydle walke or wander abroad? when did he frequent the Courtes and howſes of Princes and noble men to the entent (as the ould proverbe ſayth) to ſee and be ſeene? where did he uſe to banquet and feaſt? what noble men or others hath he for pleaſure invited? what companie hath uſed to reſort vnto him for ydle talke or dryving awaie of time? whom hath he excluded from him that in any wiſe he might profit? Yf ye will call that man occupyed that is ſtill

¹ Fol. 8, back.

² Fol. 9.

occupied in worldly busines, then cannot that be verified in him, for he lived most commonly alone, callinge himselfe to a dayly account of his lyfe, vsing the Church as a Cloyster, and his studie as a cell. As long as he was in contemplacion he kept aloane, but when action should be vsed, his diuine wordes founded full lowde in all mens eares. what should I vse many words? ¹ All pastors and Curates vsed him for their lanterne, as one of whom they might perfectly learne when to vse action, and when contemplacion: for in these two things did he so far excell, that hard it were to find one so well practysed and expert in any one of them aparte, as he was in both of them together.

Consider the time when Martin Luther, the most damnable and wicked Hereticke that ever was, began to springe, and you shall not finde a ftowter champion against him in all his time nor since, then was this religious Bishop, for Luther (as I have heard) began to sowe his wicked and diuclish doctrine in Germanie the yere of our lord god 1507, at which time my lord of Rochefter had gouerned the Sea about 12 yeres, not without the greate providence of Almighty god, that even at his first comming on land in England, no sleeping dogge, nor rude nor ignorant shepherd might be found, but a vigilant pastor, a singuler cunning and learned Bishopp, to catch the yonge cubb or foxe at his first arivall. O wicked Luther, great is the miserie and calamitie that thou hast brought into this Realme of England, and much greater and fooner had yt bene but for this worthie prelates resistance, ² yet never couldest thou have entred at all, had he not bene taken away by such as thou haddest infected with thy pernicious poyson. But of this Luther more shall be said hereafter in place convenient.

We have hitherto declared vnto you his great and painfull dilligence in preachinge the word of god, which custome he vsed not only in his yonger daies, when health serued, but also even to his extreame age, when many times his wearie and feeble leggs were not able to sustaine his weake body standing, but forced him to have a chaire, and so to teach sitting. Now considering this his painfull travell in preaching abroad, what time can you thinke was left for

¹ Fol. 9, back.

² Fol. 10.

him to pray, or to write. first do but beholde his works alreadie extant in printe: then consider diuers others that he hidd, and are not yet come to lighte: Then remember what a number of notable bookes by him compiled have perished by the malice of Hereticks, and ye shall easily finde, that he was a man of such reading and wrytinge, as may seeme to be only occupied therein and nothing els, which no doubt came by the benefitt and goodnes of Almighty god indewing him with so divine a witt, so quick invention, and so retayninge a memorie, wherby he disposed & vttered his matter with great learning, zeal and gravitie.

¹ Befydes this he neuer omitted so much as one. Collect of his daily service, and that he vsed to say commonly to himself alone, without the helpe of any Chaplen, not in any such speedie or hastie manner to be at an ende as many will doe, but in most reverent and devout manner, so distinctly and treatable² pronouncing everie word, that he seemed a verie devowrer of heavenly food, never satiate nor filled therewith: In so much as talking on a time with a Carthusian monke, who much commended his zeale & dilligent paines in compiling his booke against Luther, He answered againe sayinge, that he wished that time of wryting had bene spent in prayer, thinking *that* praier would have done more good, and was of more merit. And to help this his devotion, he caused a great hole to be digged through the wall of his church of Rochester, wherby he might the more commodiously have prospect into the Church at masse & evensonge times. When him self should say masse, as many times he vsed to doe, yf he were not letted by some urgent and great cause, ye might then perceive in him such earnest devotion that many times the teares would fall from his cheeke. And lest *that* ³the memorie of death might happ to flipp from his minde, he alwaies accustomed to sett upon one ende of *the* Altar a dead mans scull, which was also sett before him at his table as he dyned and supped. And in all his *praers* and other talke he vsed continewally a speciall reuerence and devotion to the name of Iesus. Now to these his prayers he adioyned two winges, which were Almes & fastinge, by the helpe wherof they might mount the speedier to heaven. To poore sick

¹ Fol. 10, back.

² treatably. Harleian 6896 7049.

³ Fol. 11.

persons he was a phisitian, to the lame he was a staffe, to poore widdowes an advocate, to orphanes a Tutor, and to poore travellers an Host. Wherefoeuer he lay ether at Rochester or els where, his order was to inquire where any poor sicke folkes lay neere him, which after he once knewe, he would dilligently visitt them, and where he saw any of them lykely to die, he would preach to them, teaching them the waie to die with such godly persuasions, that for the most part, he never departed till the sicke person were well satisfied and contented with death; many times was his chaunce to come to such poore howses, as for want of chynneys were verie smokie and therby so noysome that scant any men could abide in them, neuertheles himself would there sitt by the sicke patient many times the space of 3 or 4 howres together in the smoke when none of his seruantes were able to abyde ¹ in the howse, but were faine to tarry without till his comminge abroade. And in some other poore howses where stayres were wantinge, he woulde neuer disdaine to clymbe by a ladder for such a good purpose. And when he had geuen them such ghostly comfort as he thought expedient for their soules, he would at his departure leave behind him his charitable almes, geving charge to his steward or other officers daily to prepare meat convenient for them (yf they were poore), and send it to them. besids this he gave at his gate to diuers poore people (which were commonly not small number) a dayly almes of money, to some 2^d, to some 3^d, some 4^d, some 6^d, and some more, after the rate of their necessitie. That being done euery of them was rewarded lykewise with meate which was dayly brought to the gate. And lest any fraude, parcialitie, or other disorder might ryse in distribucion of the same, he provided himself a place whervnto immediatly after dynner he would resort, and there stand to see the deuision with his owne eyes.

Yf any straungers came to him he would entertaine them at his table accordinge to their vocacions with such mirth as stood with the gravitie of his ² person, whose talke was alwaies rather of learninge or contemplacion then of worldly matters: And when he had no straungers, his order was now and then to sitt with his Chaplens,

¹ Fol. 11, back.² Fol. 12.

which were commonly grave & learned men, amonge whom he would put some great question of learninge, not only to prouoke them to better confideracion and deep search of *the* hidden myfteries of our religion, but also to spend *the* time of repast in such talke that might be (as it was in deed) pleasant, profitable, and comfortable to the wayters and standers by, and yet was he so daintie and spare of time, that he would neuer bestow fully an houre at any meale. His dyet at table was for all such as thither reforted plentiful and good, but for himself verie meane: for vpon such eating daies as were not fasted, although he would for his health vse a larger dyett then at other times, yet was it with such temperance, that commonly he was wount to eate and drinke by waight and measure. And the most of his sustinance was thinn pottage foddren with flesh, eating of the flesh it self verie sparingly. The ordinarie fastes appointed by the church he kept verie foundly, and to them he ioyned many other perticuler fastes of his owne devotion, as appeared well by his thynne and weake body, whervpon though much flesh was not left, yet would he punish the verie skinne and bones vpon his ¹ backe. He wore most comonly a fhirt of heare, and many times he would whipp himself in most secret wise; when night was come, which commonly bringes rest to all creatures, then would he many times dispatch awaie his seruantes, and fall to his praiers a longe space. And after he had ended the same, he laid him downe vpon a poore hard Cowch of strawe and matts, (for other bed he vsed none) provided at Rochester in his closett, neere the Cathedrall Church, where he might looke into the Quyer and heare diuine service; and being laid he never rested above 4 howres at a time, but straight waies rose and ended the rest of his devout prayers. Thus lived he till towards his later daies, when being more growne into age, which is (as Cicero faith) a sicknes of it self, he was forced somewhat to relent of these hard and severe fastes, and the rather for *that* his body was much weakned with a consumption; wherfore by counsell of his phisitian, and licence of his ghostly father, he vsed vpon some fasting daies to comfort himself with a litle thynne grewell made for the purpose.

The care that he had of his familie was not small, for although

¹ Fol. 12, back.

his cheefest burthen confifted in difcharge of his fpirituell function, yet did he not neglect his temperall affaires; wherfore he tooke fuch order in his ¹revenue, that one part was beftowed vpon reparacion and maintenance of the Church, the fecond vpon *the* reliefe of povertie and maintaynance of fchollers, and the third vpon his howfhold expenfes, and buying of bookes, wherof he had great plentie. And left the trooble of worldly bufines might be fome hyndrance to his fpirituell exercife, he vfed the helpe of his brother Robert, a lay man, whom he made his Steward fo longe as his faid brother lived, giving him in charge fo to order his expenfes that by noe meanes he brought him in debte. His fervants vfed not to weare their apparrell after any courtly or wanton manner, but went in garments of a fadd and feemely colour, fome in gownes and fome in Coates as the fafhion then was, whom he alwaies exhorted to frugallitie and thrifte, and in any wife to beware of prodigallitie, and where he marked any of them more geven to good hufbandrie then others, he would many times lend them money, and never afke yt againe, & commonly when yt was offered him, he did forgoe it. Yf any of his howfholde had committed a falte, as fomtime it happened, he would firft examine the matter himfelf, and finding him faultie, would for the firft time but punifh him with wordes only, but it fhould be done with fuch a seuerritie of countenance and gravitie of fpeech that whofoeuer came once before him was verie vnwilling ²to come before him againe for any fuch offence. So that by this meanes his howfhold continewed in greate quyetnes and peace; everie man knowinge what belonged to his dutie. Some amonge the reft (as they could gett oportunitie of time) would applie their mind to studie and to wrytinge; and thefe above all others he fpecially lyked, and would many times fupport them with his labour, and fometimes with his money. But where he fawe any of them geven to Idlenes and flouth, he would by no meanes indure them in his howfe, bycaufe out of that fountaine many evils are comonly wont to fpringe; In conclufion his familie was governed with fuch temperance, devotion and learning, that his Pallace for

¹ Fol. 13.² Fol. 13, back.

continencie seemed a verie Monaſterie ; and for learning an vniverſitie.

As he was diſcreet in vſing feveritie, when *the* inordinate and too exceſſive behaviour of the offender did neceſſarily require correction, ſo was he comfortable and ſweet towards ſuch as needed conſolation : wherein truly he had ſuch a divine grace that he came to few in their heavines and forrowes whom, ere he left them, he did not much eaſe, which amongſt the number his old Miſtreſſe the lady Margaret¹ did often find at his handes, for at ſuch time as ſhe was in great hevines for the death of her only ſonne that noble prince King Henrie the vijth, which happened in the yere of our redemption 1509, She was not ſooner aduertified of the comming of this holy father to viſitt her, but immediately ſhe found herſelf bettered. And after ſhe had talked with him a ſpace was for the time well ſatiſfied and comforted : for he knewe well (as moſt learnedly he declared in a funerall ſermon, which vpon Sundaie the xth of Maie in the yere before named, he made for the foreſaid prince : whoſe vertues and noble actes he there commendeth, to the great example of other ſuch princes as he was), That though death be tirrible of all other things, as Ariſtotle reporteth, yet ſeeing we can by noe meanes avoid it, that the beſt waie is, to acquaint our ſelves with it by often thinking and recording of yt, that when it commeth in deed it may ſeeme leſſe ſtrange : Even as we ſee thoſe bandoggs and maſtiſſes that be tyed in chaines : for vnto ſuch as doe often viſitt them they be more gentle and eaſie, but againſt ſtraungers that have noe acquaintance or familiaritie with them, they furiouſly ryſe and gape to deuoure them : which leſſon yf we could well learne, we ſhould no doubt take death more patiently, when it commeth, both in our ſelves and others, as doubtles this good lady did, who through the great comfort ſhe tooke in this ²and other his holy exhortacions (after the funeralls of her ſonne the king were ended), began to returne where ſhe had benne, and did then ſett her minde wholly to the encrease of her charitie and almes deedes ; which the rather *that* ſhe might doe with effect, ſhe called vnto her this good byſhopp committing vnto him all the charge of this her charitable entent,

¹ Fol. 14.

² Fol. 14, back.

wherin he had lately before moved her. I meane for the erection of her foundations in Cambrige which above others they thought most necessarie to be dispatched, in as much as the care and benefit of *the soule* is to be preferred before the bodie, for at that time heresies began fast to springe; therefore with as much convenient speed as might be, my lord speeds himself to Cambridge, and there by vertue of his office of high Chaunceller looked verie straitly to *the orders and rules of the vniuersitie*, calling euery man to his dutie afwell in the schooles for profit of their learninge, as in their Churches and Colleges for dewe keeping and observing the seruice of god, indeuoringe himself, by all the meanes he could, to reduce *the vniuersitie* to their auncient rules and statutes, which began even then to growe out of frame. And where he saw any that with example of obedience and profit in learninge exceeding the rest, them he would encourage & aduance by all the meanes he coulde. Others that he sawe ¹incline to the contrarie, he would expell, or avoyding of other hurt that might infewe by their example. Some others that he perceived to loyter being apt to doe better, yf they lifted to put to their wills, he did artificially encourage and quicken, vsing such meanes, that with verie shame he drove them forwards; And many times for the encouragment of the yonge sort, himself would be present at their disputacions and readings and in disputing among them would bestowe sometimes many howres together.

And here I cannot omitt to declare vnto you one singuler token and example of his great love and charitable mind towards the vniuersitie, which happened on a time as he lay at Cambrige occupied in the busines of his office of Chauncellorship, at which time Luther in Saxonie had burst out with a venemous tonge in rayling & crying against holy indulgences, commonly called pardons. It fell out so that Pope Leo the xth graunted out a generall and free pardon (according to the aunciente custome and tradition of the Church) to all christian people contrite and confessed, through all provinces of *Christendome*, and specially to all such as with worde and deed withstoode this new deuilish and pernicious doctrine set forth by

¹ Fol. 15.

Luther: which pardon in preſſe of time came into England, and divulged into all partes of the Realme. This godly man then Chauncellor of *the vniuerſitie* of Cambrige; thinking not good to neglect *the* ¹ benefitt therof, but with hartie deſire embracing the holeſome remedie of ſuch a gracious medicine, foughte meanes to cure as many therwith as he coulde, that aſwell ſtudentes of the vniuerſitie as others there, might haue their partes of that heavenly treaſure: wherefore he commaunded, that certaine copies of the ſaid indulgences (which then were in printe) ſhould be ſett vp in fundrie publique places of the vniuerſitie, wherof one was fixed on the Schoole gate: Now were there at that time in Cambrige, ſome of lyke ill ſpirit as Luther was in Saxonie, though they were verie ſecrett, and in number verie fewe, who as far as they durſt went about to deprave the authoritie therof, amonge whom a certaine wretched and pernitiouſ perſon at that time in the vniuerſitie, envyinge the ſpirituell profit of others, readinge on a daie the foreſaid indulgence vppon the ſchoole gate, began ſtraight waie by inſtigacion of ſome ill ſpirit, to excogitate and thinke, how he might both ſlaunder the authoritie of the Pope, & hinder the benefit of the pardon in the hartes of good people, whervpon ſecretly in the night, comming to the ſchoole gate where the pardon ſtood, he wrote vpon it theſe wordes; “*Beatus vir cuius eſt nomen domini ſpes eius, et non reſpexit*” ² *vanitates et infanias falſas (iſtas),*” wreſting therby the fence of that place of holy ſcripture from the trew meaninge by adding to the text this word “*iſtas*” of his owne malicieus inuention and deviſe. In the morninge the ſchooles beinge ſett open, and the ſchollers of all ſortes reſortinge thither, according to their wonted manner, many beheld this ſtrange ſpectacle: and as the good Catholickes were much offended with the wicked kind of abuſinge holy ſcripture in ſo great a matter, ſo the contrarie ſort began amonge them ſelyes to ſmile and ſecretly reioyce in approvinge the facte; what ſhould I uſe many words? This matter being at laſt brought to the Chauncellers knowledge, he was greatly moved at the deteſtable & wicked deede. And therupon fell immediatly to find out the dooer, firſt by trying the hand wrytinge, and after by other

¹ Fol. 15, back.² Fol. 16.

meanes, but all in vaine, for yt could not be found out. At laſt in a publick Convocacion called for that purpoſe, he opened *the* caſe, and there before them openly deteſted *that* abhominable kind of dealinge. And firſt he approveth and aloweth *the* Popes pardons accordinge to their worthines, and after expoundeth the trewe fence of that place of ſcripture *which* before by that wretched perſon was depraved and wreſted, condemninge him of vanitie and falſhood, that would ſoe vainly and falſly uſurpe any place of holy ſcripture to the ſenſuallitie of his owne fooliſh and malicious brain. Then he declared what great diſpleaſure might juſtly inſewe, at the handes of Almightye god and the kinge in ¹caſe this horrible fact ſhould be left vnpuniſhed. After that what a great diſcredit it would be to their whole vniuerſitie (being hitherto neuer ſuſpected of any hereticke comming out of her) yf now ſuch a malefactor ſhould eſcape and not be inquired of. In conſequence before the whole aſſemblye there congregated, he moved the Author to repentance, and by confeſſion of his fault to aſke forgiveness at gods handes, which yf he would do by a certaine day there prefixed vnto him (ſo as himſelf might alſo have knowledge therof) he promiſed in gods behalf remiſſion. But yf on the contrarie part, he would obſtinately perſiſt and continew in his ſecret naughtyneſſe, that then ſuch remedie ſhould proceed againſt him as *Chriſt* hath ordayned, and his Church hath alwaies obſerved againſt thoſe kind of malefactors, who lyke rotten members are by the ſentence of excommunication cut of from the body of the Church, and ſo deprived of all ſuch grace & benefittes as obedient and trewe members to their great comfort do enjoy, whiles they continew in their mothers boſome ; for the malefactor ſo cutt of be he neuer ſo odd or ſecret in his naughtines for a time, yet can he not be hidden from god, who will not fail to lay his hand vpon him when yt ſhall be too late for him to repent. After he had ſpoken theſe wordes, or the lyke, with great fervitie the convocacion was for that time diſſolved, and ſo every man departed till the appointed day that *the* excommunication ſhould be pronounced : when the day was come & *the* aſſemblye ²readie, which was no ſmall number at ſo rare a Caſe, the chauncellor there moved the malefactor the ſecond time, to repentance and

¹ Fol. 16, back.² Fol. 17.

confession of his offence : but the spiritt that before suggested this wicked attempt into his hart, wold by no meanes suffer him to hearken to any amendment. Wherefore the Chauncellor seeing the sicknes desperate, and not lyke to be cured in so obstinate and stubborne a patient, feared most the infection of others, and therefore fell to this last and extreame remedie. And so causing a bill of excommunicacion to be written, tooke the same in his handes and began to reade yt, but after that he had proceeded a space in the reading therof, he staid, and began againe to consider in his minde the great waight of this greivous sentence, which so much pearced his hart, that even before them all he could not refraine weeping. The avditorie seeing that lamentable sight fell lykewise to such a compassion, that aswell the auncient reverend doctors and maisters, as other studentes of the yonger sort, perceivinge the milde nature of that holy man fell eftsoones into great weeping and lamentacion, and so left of without further proceeding in the excommunicacion for that time, Neuertheles appointing a third day for that purpose, against which time yf he came not in, then to proceed to the end without any further delay. This third day being at last come, and the Convocacion fully assembled, it was declared by the Chauncellor with a heavie countenance that no tydings ¹ could be learned of this ungodly person nether of any confession or repentance by him made or donne, according to the duty of a *Christian* man, in recompence of so ill and wicked a fact. Wherefore now seeing no other remedie to be found, thought it necessarie and expedient to proceed : And so orderinge himself after a grave and severe manner as well in his countenance as other gesture of his bodye he pronounced this terrible sentence from the beginninge to the endinge, against this desperat and wicked person, but not without weeping and lamentacion : which strooke such a fear into the harts of his hearers, when they heard his fearfull & terrible wordes, that most of them beinge present, especially of the yonger sort, looked when the ground should have opened and swallowed him vp presently before them, as a right reuerend and worthie prelat once tould me, which then was a yonge man and present at all busines : such was the bitterness of his

¹ Fol. 17, back.

wordes, and gravitie of his sentence. But although for that present time the minde of this miserable man was so hardned with obstinate stubbornnes, that it could by none of these meanes be induced to repentance and confession of this so detestable Acte, but still continued in that wilfull blyndnes, with deepe and close dissimulation for a space after: yet did not this holy mans zealous wordes and pittifull teares, spent in compassion of the wretched foul altogether perish; for not longe after they wrought so in him that they never ¹went out of his minde, but ingendred such remorse of conscience in his brest, that although meere necessitie forced him hereafter to forsake the vniuersitie, and become a servant to Doctor (Goodrich then superintendent of Elye, a vehemente Heretick and ill disposed person, yet could he neuer be brought to thinke otherwise, but that he had fore offended almightie god, in contemning him in one of his so worthie vicars as was this our holy byshopp, with open detestation of this naughtie doinge: Inasmuch as when any of his fellowes servants or other in that howse, would iest at him & put him in remembrance of his former acte (as many times they would) he would euer blame them for so doinge, reherfing to them this verse of the psalmist. *Delicta iuventutis meæ et ignorantias ne memineris domine.* This man was named Peter de Valence, by calling a preist, and borne in Normandie, from whence he fledd, and comminge to Cambrige for studie remayned there till this acte was committed.

Thus being carefully occupied in the busines of the vniuersitie, he could not yet be vnmindfull of the lady Margretes busines: and because he had no quyet resting place within the vniuersitie to doe the same, it was some impediment vnto him for a longe time, for by vertue of his office of Chauncellorshipp he had no habitation or mansion at all belonging vnto him; Now happened it so, that much about the same time, Mr. Thomas Wilkinfon, doctor of Divinitie ²and fecound *Maister* of the Queene's College, departed this lyfe; which was in the yere of our lord 1505; whervpon the fellowes of that howse, respecting the present necessitie of this good prelate, and considering of his continewall dilligence and care for the whole state of the vniuersitie, offered him the place of their *Maister* or president:

¹ Fol. 18.² Fol. 18, back.

which with many thanks he accepted, and so was third maister of that howse, continewing therein the space of 3 yeres and odd mounthes, and so at times convenient he proceeded to the erection of *Christes College* for the lady Margaret, to the endowment wherof she gave lands for the maintaynance of a *Maister* with xii schollers fellows and xlvi disciples for ever to be brought vp (as the wordes of her will makes mention) in learning vertue and cunninge.

Duringe the time that he was thus occupied in the lady Margarettes busines, and helping the vniuersitie, it happened the said lady to departe this transitorie life at the Abbay of St. Peter in *Westminster* to the great greefe and sorow of all good men within this realme, which was in the yere of *Christ* 1519, the third of the Calendes of Iulie, who before her departure made her Testament and last will, naming for her executors, diuers great personages, amonge whom this good byfhop was chosen as one in whom her least trust was not reposed.

¹These executors assembling themselves together, to debate of such things as belonged to their charge, began first to take order for her buriall, which they in most solemne wise did celebrate at *Westminster*, according to the dignitie of such a noble princeesse as she was. And at her months minde² my lord of Rochester made a verie notable sermon in manner of a mour[n]full lamentacion, wherein he most gravely and lyke a worthie father setteth forth the noble and vertuous quallities of that blessed woman. And for as much as the matter therof is well worthie to be remembred, & much the more, in that the commendacion was geven to such a person as iustly deserved it, by such a prelate as vsed not to say hastily more then he could well verifie, I cannot omitt to declare vnto you the effect therof in few wordes.

In this Sermon he compareth her in four pointes to the blessed and noble woman Martha the sifter of marie, That is to say, in nobillitie of person, in discipline of her body, in ordering her soul to god, and lastly in hospitallitie and charitable dealinge to her neighbours. First towching her nobillitie, he sheweth how nobly she was borne, beinge the daughter of John Duke of Somersett, linally

¹ Fol. 19.

² "minde" underlined & "end" written in margin.

descended from the noble prince king Edward *the* third; and after many princely qualities, there by him declared to be in her, he concludeth, that what by lineage and what by affinitie she had 30 kings and Queenes within the fourth degree of maryage to her, besides ¹Dukes, marquestes, Earles, and other princes. Then for christian discipline, he setteth out how carefully she alwaies eschewed bankettes, rere suppers, and Iunkettes betweene meales. And for fasting, although for her age and feeblenes she was not so straitly bounde as others were, yet such daies as were by the church comaunded, she would dilligently keep, vsing in Lent one meale in the daie only, and that vpon a dish of fish, besides diuers other peculier fastes, which devoutly she observed. And yet when she was in health, she never fayled on certaine daies in the weeke to weare somtimes a shirt and somtimes a girdle of heare *that* full often her skinn was perced therewith. Thirdly for ordering her self to god by often kneelinge, by sorrowfull weeping, by continewall prayers and meditacions, it is almost incredible to thinke what time she bestowed in them all. Ino muchas she accustomed her self to ryse commonly at 5 of the clock in the morninge, bycause she would omitt no parte therof. Fourthly he magnifyeth her, for her godly & charitable hospitallitie towards all fortes of people, & namely towards poore futors, not only in geving them meate and drinke, but also in helping them to an ende of their causes, for the which she suffered many a ²rebuke. Then for poore people, wherof xii she daily and nightly maintayned in her howse with meat drinke and cleathing she besides visiting them in their sicknes, and ministringe to them, with her owne handes, in grubbing & searching their wounds and sores with her owne fingers, declaring evidently what her good will was to have donne our saviour Jesus, yf himself had bene present, seeing she did thus much to his seruantes for his sake: which estions by her owne wordes she verie well confirmed, when she would saie that yf *christien* princes would have warred vpon the enemies of our faith she would be glad to follow the host and helpe to wash their clothes for the Love of Jesus, and this she still vttered till the howre of her death. Many other great vertues and manifest proofes

¹ Fol. 19, back.² Fol. 20.

of the sanctitie of that noble ladie he openeth in that fermon verie rare to be heard of in such a personage. But because her notable actes may well require a whole volume of it self, I will spare to say any further therof in this place.

When the funeralls of the lady Margaret were ended and donne, the Executors began further to consulte for execution of her will. Specially towching the Statutes of *Christes* College, and erection of St. Johns College in Cambrige, wherein because my lord of Rochester had alwaies before more largely dealt then any other, they thought no man so fitt to accomplishe that busines as he,¹ who being the only meane and first mover of her to such godly enterprises, was also best acquainted with her meaning therein: whervpon the other executors by generall consent and assent, resigned vnto him the whole authoritie, by publicke instrument in writinge: which he for the great desire he had to satisfie that vertuous ladies last will in so meritorious a cause did not vnwillingly accept. And therefore returning to Cambrige he proceeded in that godly purpose with great dilligence. And because *Christes* College was cleane furnished in her life time (as before is declared) the cheefe care that remayned was for the College of St. John the Evangelist, which was in manner nowe to be builte wholly after her death, cheefly at her costes and charges, as by her testament she had willed, although he added therto no small some out of his owne purse, for although she of her meere liberalitie gave by her last will and Testament to this College a portion of land for maintaynance of a maister and fyftie schollers in vertue cunning and service of god (as her will mentioneth), with all kind of furniture & seruantes needfull in euery office, after the manner and forme of other Colleges in Cambrige, yet did he not only beare a portion of the buildinge vpon his owne charge, but also much augmented it in possessions, foundinge there four fellowshippes, a reader of an hebrew² lecture, a reader of a greeke lecture, four examiner readers, and four vnder readers to helpe the principall reader; and because the price of victuales and other things began fast to ryse he gave to euery one a some of money to be weekly devided in augmenting the fellowes commons. Thus did this godly man not only bestowe his labour,

¹ Fol. 20, back.

² Fol. 21.

care, and studie in executinge the will of the noble ladie the foundresse; but also adde much therunto of his owne purse, to the accomplishment and making perfect of that fair College, besides the wholefome statutes and ordinaunces moft prudently by him penned, and many godly deeds by him executed. For the continuall obfervacion and maintaynance wherof he gave good landes to the College for euer, as moft cleerly maie appeare by *the* auncient record which he left in wrytinge, and *the* statutes of the fame college, if fince that time they be not altered, and corrupted. Lykewife his librarie of bookes (which was thought to be fuch as no Byfhop in Europe had *the* lyke) with all his hangings, plate, and vefsell, for hall, chamber, butterie, and kitchin, he gave longe before his death, to the College of St. John by a deed of gifte, and put *the* howfe in poffeffion therof by gifte of his owne handes, and then by Indenture borrowed all the faid bookes and ftuffe of them againe, to have the vfe therof during his lyfe. But at his apprehenfion all thefe things were converted an other way and fpoiled by certaine Commiffioners fent from the kinge for the fame purpofe. And for a perpetuall memorie of his ¹hartye good will and love borne towards the College, he caufed a little Chappell to be builded neere to the high Altar of the great Chappell, and fett therein a Tombe of white marble finely wrought, minding there to have refted his bodye amonge them, yf god had not afterwarde difpofed him otherwife, and for as much as of the two regions the North and the South, into which England is divided he noted the North to be more barraine of learninge, and fo ruder in manners then the Sowth, he provided in the fame Statutes that the greater part afwell of the fellowes, as of the fchollers fhould alwaies be received out of the North partes: not of parcialitie and affection that he being borne in the north might feeme to beare to his native countrey, but in refpect of the need which he of his great wifdome and providence did eafily fee to require, wherby it is come to paffe, that thefe two Colleges (by which Cambrige is fince *that* time much bewtified) have not only in a fhort fpace brought forth a great number of learned men, well instructed in all fciences and knowledge of the three learned tongues, to the finguler benefit of the Church of

¹ Fol. 21, back.

god, and commonwelth of this realme, but have also sent out of them some holy martyrs, for in our time we may remember that famous learned father Mr. Richard Raynoldes, doctor of divinitie and monke professed in Sion, of the rule of St. Brigett, and Mr. William Exmewe, a Carthusian professed ¹ in London, both which came out of *Christes* College and suffered martyrdom in the time of kinge Henrie the VIIIth; from *that* place sprunge also that most reuerend and grave doctor *Maiſter* Nicholas Heath Archbifhop of Yorke, and after Chancellour of England, and *Maiſter* Cuthbert Scott Biſhop of Cheſter. Lykewiſe out of the College of *Saint* John came that famous martyr Doctor Greenwood, who ſuffered death vnder kinge Henrie for *the* ſupremacie: and of Biſhoppes came *Maiſter* George ² Daye biſhop of Chicheſter, *Maiſter* Raph Bayn byſhop of Litchfelde, *Maiſter* Thomas Watſon biſhop of Lincolne, *Maiſter* John Chriſtoferſon an other biſhop of Chicheſter, and *Maiſter* Thomas Bourcher, biſhop elect of Gloceſter, and before that Abbott of Leiſter, All right grave Devines, learned preachers and worthie Catholyke biſhops. Beſides that of Deanes in Cathedrall churches, and other learned doctors and preachers, they have brought forth ſuch an infinite number, that it is wonder to thinke and worthie without all doubt, to be attributed principally to the goodnes and exceeding mercie of god over this realme, who againſt this wicked time of Hereſie, did even then moſt gratiouſly prepare this good ladies minde, to ſuch a notable worke of mercie, by the meanes of this ſo worthie a biſhops dilligence and faithfull carefulnes to execute the ſame, *which* providence of god appeareth plainly in that within ſo ſhort a time as paſſed betweene the erection of *the* Colleges and *the* rayſing of the ſciſme, it was poſſible for ſo many worthie and Catholick learned men to ſpring out of ſo ſmall a fountaine. And as by the great liberallitie and bountie of this noble & ³ bleſſed woman the vniuerſitie of Cambrige doth now at this *preſent* remaine much aduanced in the faculties of ſtudie and learninge, ſo may we note, how that of longe time, even as it were from her firſt begininge, it hath pleaſed god to move the hartes of fundrie noble

¹ Fol. 22.

² Richard originally written, then ſcratched out and George written over.

³ Fol. 22, back.

Catholick kings and queenes of the Realme, with other noble princes of the blood royall, to put to their benevolent and helping handes. Infomuch that through their gracious and bountifull charitie, proceedinge no doubt of especiall favour and affection, which they in their feuerall ages have ever borne to this vniuersitie, it is at this daie adorned with many goodly colleges, bewtified with diuers sumptuous churches and Chappells, and plentifully endowed with landes and possessions wherby she hath norifhed and brought forth many singulerly well learned in all faculties of knowlege and learninge, wherein as she hath alwais wonne praise and commendacions, so hath she most of all deserved in this one pointe: That in so many hundred yeres as she hath florished, never heresie, nor other vnfound doctrine hath spronge out of any of her members, wherby the Catholick Church of *Christ* hath at any time bene disturbed, But alwais hath persevered in found doctrine, yea, even then most of all when Oxford her Sister, the other vniuersitie, was miserably tossed and turmoyled with the pestiferous heresies and sectes of wicklef. For we maie reade of diuers learned clerkes sometimes schollers and *studientes* of this vniuersitie ¹of Cambrige that have in their feuerall times learnedly confuted, and most carefully rooted out, such pernicious heresies as then were disperfed as well in this realme as els where. And even now in these our daies there have not wanted fundrie learned fathers of that number, besides this most reuerend and holy doctor of whom we now intreat, that have stept forth against these damnable errors and sectes now troobling this realme, and the whole world besides, by whose learning and dilligence it is not vnlyke, but this realme might have bene safely preserved, had not the kinge himself bene first infected with this fowle and horrible spott of heresie, who by his owne vnlawfull power, not only removed from their places all these auncient and sage rules² that should by their learning and grave authoritie have repulfed such pernicious sectes, but also placed in their roomes such and so manie hereticke as himself had chofen, to set forward his wicked and execrable purposes. And as it is not to be reade of any hereticke by them brought forth of their owne flocke and number; So have

¹ Fol. 23.² rulers. Harleian, 250, 6896, 7949.

they not willingly suffered any other Heretick of forrain nation or cuntry to abide quietly amonge them; wherof although diuers examples might be recyted, yet can I not omitt this one being yet fresh in memorie. To witt, of M. B. and P. F.,¹ two wicked and pernicious heretickes, who although in the childish raigne of king Edward the VIth when they and all others of their profession, did frankly professe and openly teach within that vniuersitie whatfoeuer pleased themselves even to their dying daies, and being borne out by the power of ²such as then ruled all at their licentious wills and pleasures, wherby a great part of the youth of that time resident there at studie were much annoyed and infected with their pestilent heresies. Yet lacked there not many even at that instant of the elder sort, which not so stoutly as learnedly, yea in open disputacion impugned their devilish doctrine, and would not have failed to hysse them out of their schooles, had they not by swaie of that time bene put to silence, some by banishment, and other some by imprisonment. And yet in the time of good Queene Marie, when these and such lyke learned and reuerend men were restored againe, to their accustomed estate of government within that vniuersitie. They, mindfull of their dutye and carefull to supply the want which the iniquitie of the time would not before permitt them to attempt according to the holy Cannons of the Church, caused not only the carcasses and bones of those heretickes to be vnburied, and taken out of the grave, wherof at their death they were not capable by lawe, but also, for example sake, by lawfull authoritie procured the same bones and carcassee then to be openly burnt in the marked place in the face of the worlde, that for the enormitie of their haynous crime, the dead bodies and bones might beare witnes of their punishment, which they yet livinge by lawe deserved, and should have felt by all lykelyhood, yf (as I have said) the iniquitie of the time had not letted. He also minded to have erected ³yet a third College in Cambrige of his proper charges, and therin consulted with Erasmus by fundrie epistles for his aduise: but because he was prevented by the iniquitie of time that shortly after followed, in which his goods began to waite, he left of his purpose and neuer began it at all.

¹ Martin Bucer, Paulus Fagius *in margin.* ² Fol. 23, back. ³ Fol. 24.

Now approached the time wherein God was determined to make triall of his people, the man of sinne (*Antichrist*) should be yet more manifestly revealed, for the verie mouth of hell was sett open, and out came the wicked spirit of *Antichrist* and entred into *Martin Luther*, an *Augustin frier*, an infamous heretick and execrable *Apostata*. This wicked man fet forth diuers blasphemous bookes stuffed with most abhominable and false doctrines, which in short time came to the sight of my lord of *Rocheſter*; whervpon he began not only to sette himself to more dilligent preaching and wryting then euer he had yet done before, but also procured and set forward many other learned preachers to looke and foresee that this cruell and ravenous wolfe should not devour England, and by occasion therof provided in the statutes of *Saint John's college* before mentioned, that the fellowes of the howse should so order and moderate their studies, as alwaies the fourth part of them might be preachers, and as soone as one was gone abroad an other should straight waies be readie to succede in his place. Thus he still occupied himself ether privatly or openly, never intermitting the spirituall care of his dioceſſe, whether he were at London or at *Cambrige*,¹ or els where, specially now when the wicked seed of *Luther* was so fast sown and diſperſed abroad. For this cause he returned to his charge at *Rocheſter*, being then at *Cambrige*, and after he had there remayned a certaine ſpace, preaching and teaching after his accustomed faſhion, he was taken with great deſire to travell to *Rome*, there to ſalute the Pope's holines, and to viſitt the tombes of the holy *Apoſtles Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, with the reſt of the holy places and reliques there. But you ſhall vnderſtand that this was not the firſt time that he had entred into that deliberacion; for it was by him determined from the time that he firſt received his Biſhoprick, which by certaine occaſions was twiſe before diſappointed. Wherefore havinge now gotten (as he thought) a good opportunitie, he providently diſpoſed his howſehould and all his other matters: and after leave obtained of the kinge and his metropolitan, he began to prepare for his iorney to *Rome*: to this voyage he had choſen learned companie. But beholde, when everie thing was readie and

¹ Fol. 24, back.

the iorney about to begin, all was fodenly difappointed, and he revoked, for other bufines to be treated of at home, which of neceffitie required his prefence. And this (*without* all doubt) was not without the providence of Almighty God, who, content with his good minde, thought not that iorney then expedient. Being then thus ftaid & lettel to proceed in his devout purpofe, he returned where he ¹lefte to his paftorall cure at Rocheſter, wherof at that time was great neede, for the wicked ſect of Luther grewe verie faſte; the cauſe of his revocation was by meane of a Synod of byſhopps called by Cardinall Woolſey who (having lately before received his power legantine from the Pope) at that time ruled all things vnder the kinge alſo at his owne will and pleaſure. To this Sinod the Clergie of England aſſembled themſelves in great number, where it was expected that great matters for the benefitt of the Church of England ſhould have been proponed, howbeit all fell out otherwiſe: for (as it appeared after) This Counſell was called by my Lord Cardinall rather to notiſe to the world his great authoritie, and to be ſeene fitting in his Pontificiall ſeate, then for any great good that he ment to doe which this learned and wiſe prelate perceived quickly. Wherefore having now good occaſion to ſpeake againſt ſuch enormities as he ſaw daily ryſinge amonge the ſpiritualtie and much the rather for that his wordes were amonge the Clergie aloane, without any commixture of the layitie, which at that time began to hearken to any ſpeaking againſt the Clergie, he there reprooved verie diſcreetly *the* ambition and incontinencie of the Clergie, utterly condemninge their vanitie, in wearing of Coſtly apparrell, wherby he declared the goods of the Church to be finfully waſted & ſcandall to be rayſed amonge the people, ſeeing the tythes and other oblacions given by the devotion of them, and their anceſtors, to a good purpoſe ſo inordinately ſpent in ²vndecent and ſuperfluous rayment, delicate fare, and other worldly vanitie, which matter he debated ſo largely and framed his wordes after ſuch fort, that the Cardinall *perceiued* himſelf to be towched to the verie quicke: for he affirmed this kind of diſorder to proceed through the example of the head, and thervpon reprooved his Pomp, putting him in minde, that it ſtood better with the modeſtie of ſuch

¹ Fol. 25.² Fol. 25, back.

a high paster as he was to eschewe all worldly vanitie ; specially in this perilous time. And by humillitie to make himself conformable and lyke the Image of god, “ for in this trade of lyfe ” (said he) “ how can there be any lykelyhood of perpetuitie with safetie of conscience, nether yet any securitie of the Clergie to continewe, but such plaine and imminent daungers are lyke to ensewe, as were neuer tasted nor heard of before our daies : for what should we ” (said he) “ exhort our flockes to eschew and shunn worldly ambition, when we our selves that be byshopps, do wholly sett our mindes to the same things we forbidd in them. What example of *Christ* our saviour do we imitate, who first executed doing and after fell to teachinge. Yf we teach accordinge to our doinge, how absurd may our doctrine be accounted ; yf we teache one thinge and doe another, our labour in teaching shall never benefitt our flocke half so much as our example in doing shall hurt them. Who can willingly suffer and beare with vs in¹ whom (preaching humilitie, sobrietie, and contempt of *the* world) they maie evidently perceive, hawtines in minde, pride in gesture, sumptuousnes in apparell, and damnable excesse in all worldly delicates. Truly, most reuerend fathers, what this vanitie in temporall things worketh in you I know not, but sure I am that in my selfe I perceive a greate impediment to devotion, and so have felt a longe time, for fundrie times when I have settled and fully bent my self to the care of my flocke committed vnto me, to visitt my diocese, to governe my church, and to answer the enemies of *Christ*, straight ways hath come a messenger for one cause or other sent from higher authoritie, by whom I have bene called to other busines and so left of my former purpose. And thus by tossing and going this waie and that way time hath passed, and in the meane while nothinge done, but attending after tryumphs, receiuing of Ambassadors, haunting of princes courtes, and such lyke, wherby great expences ryse that might better be spent otherwaie.” He added further, that whereas himself, for fundrie causes secretly knowne to himself, was thrise determined to make his voyage to Rome, and at everie time had taken full and perfect order for his cure, his howshoud, and for all other busines, till his returne, still by occasion of these worldly

¹ Fol. 26.

matters, he was difappointed of his purpofe. After he had vttered thefe with many moe fuch words in this Sinod, they feemed all by their filence to be much aſtonyed, and to thinke well of his ſpeeches, but in deede,¹ by the fequell of the matter, it fell out that fewe were perfwaded by his counfell, for noe man vpon this amended any whitt of his accuſtomed licentious lyfe, no man became one heare the more circumſpect or watchfull over his cure, and many were of this mind, that they thought it nothing neceſſarie for them to abate anythinge of their faire apparell for the reprehention of a fewe whom they thought too ſcrupelous: fo that (excufes neuer wantinge to cover ſinn :) this holy fathers wordes, ſpoken with fo good a zeale, were all loſt, and came to nothinge for that time.

In the meane ſpace Luthers hereſie ſtill proceeded, ſpreading farr and wide abroad in Saxſonie, and other dominions of Germanie, and the poyſoned bookes therof at laſt came freſhly into England, by the helpe of marchantes that travelled that waie: by meane wherof not they themſelves only, but alſo artificers, foldiers, women, and other of the common people, ſpecially of the yonger fort, ſimply learned, and of little vnderſtanding, by readinge theſe bookes, ſtraight waies at the firſt receipt dranke their deadly draught of this venomous poyſon. Then after it crept abroad lyke a canker more largely, and entred into the minde of many engliſh people of the better fort, who, lyke the nature of Iſlanders that commonly be changeable and deſirous of novelties, received yt with much plawſibilitie, which² thinge king Henrie conſideringe, he ſtraight waie without delay called for helpe to the Biſhopps, and imediatly with his owne penn ſett vpon Luther, the head of all the miſcheef, by meane wherof, he not only ſhewed himſelf well to deſerve the name of defendor of the faith (which after vpon occaſion of that booke was geven him by our holy father Pope Leo the tenth) but alſo brought amonge the learned byſhops of his owne realme, a great hope, that by his helpe all would be ſtaied for that time. That booke of the kings (which was a right worthie and learned treatiſe) was intituled an aſſertion of the ſeaven ſacraments againſt Martyn Luther.

There were at that time diuers that would affirme my lord of

¹ Fol. 26, back.

² Fol. 27.

Rocheſter to be author of that booke, for certaine it is, that in thoſe daies no man was greater with the king in *that* kind of buſines then he: nether did *the* king yelde more reuerence or credit to any man living then to him. In ſo much as he would many times ſaie, that he thought him the deepeſt diuine in Europe, which doth nothinge at all detract from the kings praife, but rather maketh the booke more commendable, even as thoſe wife and ſubſtantiall lawes which the king doth make by aduiſe of his learned counſellors do nothinge derogate from his authoritie, but are promulged and publiſhed for his owne ordinaunces. He further, to the aduancement of the kings worthines and defence of the truth againſt that bitter payſond anſwere of Luther, made an appologie, rebuking Luther as well for his ſcurrilitie and knaviſh tearmes uſed againſt ſo noble a prince as alſo for his falſe and manifeſt errors, which he moſt profoundly conſuteth. The publiſhing of *which* booke ¹he deferred for a time, becauſe the rumor was that Luther would recante. But when it was perceived that he with all his factors, with all their might ceaſed not to vrge forward the ſciſme, ſetting forth corrupted tranſlation of bibles, and wreſtinge the ſence therof to their owne malicious vnderſtandinge, he ſetteth his booke immediatly forth, for a warninge to all poſteritie, with a preface before yt, to his ould acquaintance the Biſhop of Elie, named Doctor Weſt, being both brought vp together from their youth in ſtudie at Cambrige, where many diſputacion had paſſed betweene them, as partly in the ſaid preface himſelf doth remember, the inſcription of which booke was thus: A defence of the kinge of Englands aſſertion of the Cath. faith againſt Martin Luthers booke of the Captiuitie of Babulon. About the ſame time he was alſo compilinge an other booke, wherin he defended the holy order of preiſthood againſt Luther, and ſett yt to the printe. Thus lamenting with himſelf the preſent ſtate of things, and deviſing how to provide remedie for that which he ſawe followinge, lyke to a carefull Shepherde he laid watch in everie corner, ſearching all places where the enemye might enter, and where any came within his reach, he tooke houlde on them, ſpecially againſt the Lutherans, he exalted his voice lyke a trumpett preaching againſt them more

¹ Fol. 27, back.

liberallie, and also more often then his former custome was. Besides, forth he sent ¹abroade certaine other preachers, men well instructed to catch *the* wolfe and to admonish the people of the secrett poyson that laye hidd, under pretext of reformation. But behold, how easie a thinge it is to deceive the sillie people, and how quickly they that be light of Credit, maie be induced to followe crooked waies and bye pathes: for they geving care to flaunderous tales and pernicious lyes develifhly invented by Luther vpon abuses attributed to the Clergie, and cleane carryed awaie with carnall libertie, which this new fifth gospell did liberallie bringe them, were fallen in that wilfull blindnes, that making themselves iudges in that which they should receive by iudgment of their pastors, nether by the kings assertion against Luther, nether by the continewall visitac[i]ons of their byshopps, neither yet by *the* dilligent and faithfull teaching of the learned fathers and doctors, could be staide, but altogether drunken with the Muske of licentious libertie so frankly broached vnto them, and wilfully wedded to their vaine presumption, rashly and without reason, they suffred themselves to be abused by that false and wicked heretick (whom they should most dilligently have eschewed), and imbraced him as a trewe and syncere reformer of vice, calling him a holy father, a trew and godly preacher of gods worde, yea, a verie prophett. This did they first by whisperinge secretly amonge themselves, then by open talke, and at length by open casting abroad and vsing his seditious booke pernitiouly penned to catch the ignorant sort, by abasing the authoritie of the Pope, Kings, and Bishops, and all other potentates. Of this faction were fix at one time apprehended, wherof the ²cheefe was Robert Barnes, an Augustine freer, which after longe perswasion of diuers learned men abiured their false and detestable heresies, and for their pennaunce stood openly at Pauls Crosse on the quinquagesima Sundaie, which was in the yere of our redemption 1525. At which time this learned byshop made there a worthie sermon, where the most reuerend father *Maister* Thomas Wolfey, Cardinall and legate a latere with xi bishopps, and a great audience of people were present. In which sermon he there prosecuted the gospe'll, vttering it against the lutherans sectes

¹ Fol. 28.² Fol. 28, back.

with such fervencie of faith, such zeal to the Catholick Church of *Christ*, such force of argumentes grounded vppon holy scripture, and so fully replenished with the holy ghoſt, that yf the king had bene as trewe a Defender of the faith in his deedes, as he was in name and tytle, no doubt but England had bene safe & soundly preserved from that miserable crime that after yt fell into. He pronounced an other notable Sermon verie shortly after before the said lord Cardinall in the same place, within the Octaves of the Assention, in which he shewed himself a stowt and zealous preacher, and a most vigilant pastor against these raveninge and pestiferous heretickes; many other Sermons and homilies to the same effect he made, besides, at London the head cittie of England, taking thereby occasion to taxe aswell the negligence of Curates, as the rashnes and levitic of the people, exhorting all sorts in their vocacion to play the vigilant foldiers in stowtly resisting these develissh assaults of heresie.

¹ Now after this his wearisome occupacion of preaching there followed yet an other painfull labour of wrytinge, for at this time rose out of Luthers schoole Oecolampadius, who lyke a mightie Giant brast out more venomously, (if more could be) then his *Maister*, Freer Luther. For thinking himself better learned then his Maister, he went an ase further, denying damnablely the reall presence of the bodie and blood of our saviour in the blessed sacrament of the Altar, wherein as he went altogether from his mother the Church, so did he differ farr from his schoolemaister, Martin Luther, wherfore the grave prelate & zelous pastor, lyke a valiant Champion (that never could be tyred), set vpon this raveninge woolf with five weapons, which were fivie bookes most dilligently and clerkly collected, well stuffed with evident scriptures, and censures of holy fathers, both in their learned works, and also in their generall Counsells where lawfully assembled, they have declared such things as are expedient for the maintaynance of the truth representing our mother the Church, by the authoritie and vertue wherof he so wounded this Goliath, that in conclusion he cleane overthrewe him and laid him flatt on the ground. These bookes were written in the yere of *Christ* 1525, at which time he had governed the Sea of

Rocheſter about twenty yeres, and the next yere followinge they were publiſhed and ſett abroad in print, to the great confirmacion of all good ¹*Chriſtians*, that ether read or heard the ſame, and no leſſe diſcourage of all heretickes, as by the ſequell maie well appeare, for nether to thoſe bookes, nether yet to any other of his bookes or workes hath any heretick to this daie yet made anſwere or refutacion, which I thinke can hardly be ſaid of any other Catholyke wyter that wrote in his time.

Hitherto we have diſcribéd vnto you this worthie prelate, nether doombe in preachinge, nor ydle in wryting : nether could in devotion, nor ambitious in ſpyringe. It followeth now that we muſt intreate of a great and lamentable calamitie that chaunced in theſe our daies, wherof as I thinke there are verie few that can ſay they have cleane eſcaped without feelinge ſome part of the ſmart, ſo this reuerend father taſted plentifully therof, whom yt chaunced in the verie beginning to be one of the firſt that brake the yfe, and to open and ſhewe the inconvenience that followed therby, no doubt to his immortall fame and glorie, and no leſſe to the reproach and ignominie of all ſuch as were his perfecutors, as by the ſequell of this Hyſtory ſhall well appeare. I meane here of the Divorce between kinge Henrye and queen Katherine his wife : the verie Spring from which ſo many lamentable & miſerable tragedies have ſpronge, to the vtter ruine and defolacion of ²this noble Realme of England, in the trew ſervice of god, and miniſtracion of Juſtice, and knowledge of all ciuill honeſtie. So that beſides the greefe, and loathſomnes therof I thinke it a matter almoſt vnpoſſible to be expreſſed in wrytinge, But forasmuch as the worthie Actes of this holy father cannot plainly be vnderſtoode, vnleſſe we enter ſomewhat into this matter nether this matter fully perceived except we make a little digreſſion, yet it ſhall be convenient, to repeat from the firſt origenall and fountaine, the cauſe of all this greevous buſines, wherin yf I ſhall ſeeme ſomewhat prolix and tedious, I muſt deſire the reader to conſider the fruite which he maie reape by the full diſcourſe therof, being full of profitable and vertuous leſſons and good examples.

There hath of longe time continewel an auncient amitie and

¹ Fol. 29, back.

² Fol. 30.

frendfhipp, between the howfe of Burgundie and this Realme of England, wherby amonge other commodities, great traffique of marchandize from the one countrey to the other hath vfuallly bene practifed : to the which howfe of Burgundie when in proceffe of time, the noble families of Auftria, Spaine, Naples, and Sicilie was by maryage adioyned, the moft fage and vertuous prince Kinge Henrie the viith, perceiving fo many noble kingdoms and countreys now brought to one Monarchie, and therewith much defiringe the continewance of his auncient league and amitie aforetime vfed, fent vnto Ferdinando, King of Aragon and Caftile, requiring of him in marryage, the lady Catherine his daughter for the lord Arthur, prince of wales, his eldeft fonne.

¹ Kinge Ferdinando (as he was a wife and noble prince) fo in this matter he fhewed himfelf nether hard nor ftrange, but ftraight waies agreed to this good motion. Then was preparacion made for the iorney, and the noble yonge ladie beinge imbarcked and arived in England, was at laft folemnly marryed to the said Prince Arthur in the Cathedrall church of *Saint Paul* within London : which was in the yere of our lord god 1500, and the xvith yere of King Henrie the feventh his Raigne. After the folemnitie of the marryage was finifhed they went both to Ludlowe, in Shropfhire, and there for a fpace remayned, and kept howfe together. But beholde (god fo orderinge the matter) within five monnths after the marryage, Prince Arthur beinge alwais but a weake and fickly yonge man not above the age of xv yeres chaunced to depart this tranfitorie life, by meane wherof, the good intent and meaning of the two kings their fathers, was nowe become all fruflrat and void. Neuertheles that fo good a matter, fo well begun, fhould not altogether quaille, there was yet an other waie deuifed how all might be folved againe, and the firft good intention take place : This was, that feeing the ladie Catherine was now a widdowe without yffue of Prince Arthur her hufband, fhe might therefore be married to the lorde Henrie, brother to the faid prince. Of this deuife both the kings lyked well, and to that inclyned their mindes accordingly, & left fome cavillation might in time arife about this matter, bycaufe of the Leviticall lawe, for-

¹ Fol. 30, back.

bidding the one brother ¹to reveale the secrettēs of the other, yt was thought good by the learned counsell on both fides that dispenfacion fhould be fewed for from the Sea apostolick, which was done and graunted accordinge to the two kings requestes by our holy father Pope Julius the second. In this Bull the maryage with Prince Henrie was dispenced, for that the ladie was before maryed to his brother prince Arthur, yea, in case there were carnall knowledge between them.

The tenore wherof was thus.

Julius *episcopus* servus servorum dei.

Dilecto filio Henrico charissimo in *Christo* filii nostri Henrici Angliæ regis illustris Nato: et dilecte Catherinæ charissimi in *Christo* filij nostri Ferdinandi regis, et charissimæ filiæ Elizabethæ reginæ Hispaniarum et Siciliæ catholicorum natæ illustribus Salutem, &c.

Romani pontificis præcellens autoritas confessa sibi desuper utimur potestate provt personarum negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata in domino conspiciat salubriter expedire.

Oblata nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tam in *Christo* filia Catherina & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charissimi in *Christo* filij nostri—Henrici Angliæ regis illustris: primogenitus pro conferuandis pacis et amicitæ nexibus et federibus, inter charissimum in *Christo* filium nostrum Ferdinandum et charissimam in *Christo* filiam nostram Elizabetham Hispaniarum et Siciliæ reginam Catholicos; ac præfatos Angliæ ²reges et reginam matrimonium legitime per verba de presenti contraxissetis, illudque carnali copula forsan consummavissetis dictus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi matrimonii non suscepta defessit. Cum autem sicut eadem petitio subiungebat ad hoc, vt vinculum pacis et amicitie inter præfatos regem et reginam hujusmodi diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de presenti contrahere: Supplicari nobis fecistis, vt vobis in premiffis de oportunæ dispenfacionis gratia providere; de benignitate apostolica dignaremur.

Nos igitur qui inter singulos *Christi* fideles ac prefertim catholicos reges et principes, pacis et concordie amœnitatem vrgere intenfis

¹ Fol. 31.

² Fol. 31, back.

defiderijs affectamus: Vos et quemlibet vestrum, a quibuscunque excommunicationibus &c.: Hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vos biseunque vt (impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex premillis proveniente ac constitutionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis cæterisque contrarijs nequaquam obstantibus) matrimonium per verba legitime de præfenti inter vos contrahere, et in eo postquam contractum fuerit et si iam forsan hactenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis ac illud carnali copula consummaueritis, licite remanere valeatis auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium de spiritalis dono gracie dispensamus, ac vos et quemlibet vestrum si contraxeritis, vt præfertur¹ ab excessu hujusmodi excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis eadem auctoritate² absoluimus prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio siue contracto siue contrahendo susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decerendo.

Proviso quod tu in *Christo* filia Catherina propter hujusmodi rapta non fueris, volumus autem si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxeritis Confessor per vos et quemlibet vestrum eligendus penitentiam salutarem propterea vobis iungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo &c. Datum Romæ etc., 1507, calendis Januarij, Anno &c., which in english may be thus understood:

Julius Byfhop, Servant to the servants of god. To our loving sonne Henrie, the sonne of our most deere sonne in *Christ*, Henri the noble king of England. And to our beloved daughter in *Christ*, Catherine the daughter of our most deere sonne and daughter Ferdinando and Elizabeth, the Catholyke king and queene of Spain and Sicilie, greeting, &c. The Bisshop of Rome by his high authoritie geven vnto him from above doth vse his power, waying the quallitie of the persons, the busines, & the time, as he seeth expedient and profitable in our lorde. There hath lately ben presented vnto vs a petition on your behalf contayninge that where you our welbeloved daughter Katherin and Arthur then livinge, the eldest sonne of our most deere sonne in *Christ* Henrie the noble kinge³ of England, had (for conservacion of the bondes and pactes of peace and amitie between our most deere sonne and daughter

¹ præfertur, Harleian, 7049 and 250; MS. pefertur.

² Fol. 32.

³ Fol. 32, back.

Ferdinando and Elizabeth, Catholicke king and queene of Spaine and Sicilie, and the foresaid king and queene of England) lawfully contracted between you a matrimony by present wordes, and had also perhaps consummate *the* same by carnall knowledge, the said Arthur deceased without any yssue borne of the same matrimonie. And wheras you desire to contract a lawfull matrimonie betweene you by present words, to the intent that the bonde of peace and amitie shoulde be the more durable betweene the said king and queene. And made petition vnto vs also that we would vouchsafe to provide for you in the premisses with convenient dispensacion, by the grace and bounty of the Sea Apostolick as in the said supplicacion and mentioned, we therefore, (who with earnest desire do affect the aduancement of blessed peace and concord, amonge all *Christen* people, specially between Catholyke kings and princes) tendering that your supplicacion do absolve you, and euery of you from all manner of excommunicacion, &c. And do by authority of the Sea Apostolicke, according to the tenore of these presentes, dispence with you and euery of you by the giift of spirituall grace, that you may contract between you a matrimonie by present wordes, and after the same so contracted, ether openly or secretly, and by carnall consent consummated, that ye may therein lawfully remaine, any ¹impediment of affinitie growing by the premisses, or any constitucion or ordinaunce apostolyke or other contrarie provisions notwithstanding. And yf ye have so contracted as before is declared we also doe by the same authoritie absolve you and euery of you from such exceffe and sentence of excommunicacion wherein you be runne by mean of the same, decreeing the yssue of such matrimonie ether contracted or to be contracted, for lawfull, yea, although the same be already borne. Provided alwaies that you our daughter in *Christe* Catherine were not rapt against your will. And we will *that* yf ye have already contracted any such matrimonie, the Confessor by you or any of you to be chosen shall inioyn you holefome pennance for the same, to the performance wherof ye shall be bound. No man therefore, &c., and yf they shall &c., Geuen at Rome &c. 1507 the Calendes of Januarie in the yere &c.

¹ Fol. 33.

The two kings having thus with their great charges obtained this Bull, thought now that all things were well provided for, and all matters of conscience thoroughly dispensed, and then rested no more but the solemnisation of the marriage, before *the* accomplishing wherof, it chaunced the foresaid sage prince¹ king Henrie the viith to depart this worlde, leaving behinde him to succcede in the kingdome his only sonne Henrie the eight, who followinge the conclusion of his fathers agreement, espoused the said ladie in the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul* in London, within two months after he began to raigne, and begat of her Henrie & diuers other sonnes, which dyed in short space after² they were borne, and marie who in proceſſe of time succeeded in the Crowne. In this maryage they continewd & lived well and prosperously together almost the space of twentie yeres, all things in this Realme so well succeedinge, as the lyke hath neuer since bene seene. But Sathan the comon enimie of all mankind, who still envyeth his prosperitie and ioyeth at his woe, perceiving what great good was lyke to infewe to the *Christian* world by the continewance of this maryage, and how lykely his owne kingdome was therby to abate in *the hartes of Christen* men, he so wrought and bestirred himself in this matter, that contrarie to mans expectacion and the two noble princes good and vertuous intention, there followed in stedd of tranquillitie and peace an vtter ruine and miserie. For in all this great prosperitie behould even sodenly what a soare flame was kindled of one little sparke, by reason of a scruple crept into the kinges brest, that the maryage between him and this good queen his wife should not be lawfull bycause she was before married to his brother. How this foolish and unhappie scruple entred first into his head, I will not certainly affirme, because I have heard yt diuerſly reported. Some thinking it came by the Bisshopp of Bayon, who being on a time Ambassador to this king Henrie from Frauncis the french kinge, to treat of a maryage betwene the lady Marie daughter to king Henrie, and the Duke of Orleans second sonne to the said king of fraunce named Henry,³ even as the matter after longe debatinge was come to determinacion, the Bisshop desired respite of concluding the matrimonie, till such time as he had

¹ Prince, Harleian 6896.² Fol. 33, back.³ Fol. 34.

once againe spoken with the kinge his *maifter*, becaufe (as he faid) he was not fully perfwaded of the legitimacion of the ladie Marie beinge the kings daughter begotten of his brothers wife, which wordes the kinge fecretly marked, and neuer after forgott. Others haue fuppofed that it was a thinge but only conceived of the kinge himfelf, who perceiuinge *that* he had noe iffue male by the Queene, and doubtinge now that he was lyke to haue none at all by her, (the growing towards the age of fortie yeres), began to conceive a wearines of her perfon, and fo fought meanes to be rydd of her, and to marrie a new wife, and for furthering of his purpofe thought it a good colour & cleanly excufe to aleadge the trooble of his confcience, and the daunger that might infewe to this Realme, for lacke of iffue male. But moft have affirmed, that this matter was firft put into his head, by an envious prowde man (then rulinge mightilie in this realme) called *Maiſter* Thomas Wolſey, Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Yorke: which I take to have moſt Semblaunce of trewth for fundrie reaſons, and the rather for that *the* good queen openly charged him fore therwith as after ſhall be ¹declared, and therefore no doubt but he found out the truth therof. My ſelfe have alſo ſeene and reade diuers and fundrie letters, written from the Cardinall to the kings ambaffadors at Rome, when he aſpired to be Pope: wherein he ſeemed nothing to fauour this good queene, and therefore labored the more ernesttly to be Pope, becauſe he ment to give definitive ſentence againſt her to pleaſure the kinge withall. This Cardinall as he lacked noe excellencie of witt, readines of ſpeech, and quicknes of memorie: ſo was he alſo nether faint of corrage, nor ignorant of ciuill manners, ne yet all vnlearned, for he had ſtudied and taken degrees of Schoole in the vniuerſitie of Oxford. Of parentage he was baſe and obſcure, and yet neuertheles wanted noe audacitie to aduaunce himſelf amonge great perſonages, yea in matters of great importance and waight, for in continewance of time, beſides his great and rich promotion in the Church, which were nether ſmall nor fewe, he was alſo lord Chancellor of England, and therby in temporall matters ruled all vnder the king at his owne will and pleaſure, ſo that what by the one and what by the other, he was accounted the richeſt Cardinall in

¹ Fol. 34, back.

reuennews and goods that euer ¹was in England. And in deed although in his great authoritie he wonne at many wife mens hands great praife for his indifferencie fhewed to all perfons as well rich as poore without respect of dignitie, gouerninge *the* Realme many yeres vnder the king in great peace and tranquillitie : yet for the obfcuring and darkninge of all thefe goodly guyfts of good nature, this one falt of ambition (lackinge not the companie of fome other vices) raigned fo abundantly in him that his goodnes was not thought able to furmount the one halfe of his ill. But now by meanes of this Cardinalls forwardnes in fervice, and much takinge vpon him it was thought by iudgment of many wife men (as myfelf have heard fome report, and cannot without greefe reherfe againe) that the king fell then to ydlenes and reft, gevinge his minde to wanton love and fenfuall pleasure, and fo with expences of his treafure and loffe of his time gave ouer the kingly occupacion (wherin he had fo longe before vertuoufly exercifed himfelf with the great commendacion of all men) and left all to the miniftrie and difpofition of *the* Cardinall, which he willingly tooke vpon him, fetting himfelf then daily forward to the worlde with great pompe more then he had before vfed. And yet befides his owne great fumpt & expenfes in wearing of filke and other coftly apparrell decked with gould and filuer, he was alfo therby occafion to other of the Clergie to doe the lyke beyond all reafon and meafure, ²for by reafon of his great reuennewes he lived rather lyke a king then a fubiect, having in his handes all at one instant of fpirituall livings, the Archbifhopricke of Yorke, the Bifhopricke of winchefter, and *the* Abbay of *Saint* Albones. He had alfo in *Farme* the bifhopricke of Bathe, worcefter, and Hereford, becaufe the incumbentes therof were ftraungers and continewally abfent in their owne Countreys : by reafon wherof, he had the full difpofition of all *the* fpirituall promotions and prefentacions in thofe Bifhoppricks, as freely as any of his owne, befides this he was Legate de *latere*, by vertue wherof he would convocate the clergie of this Realme at his pleasure, and vifitt all fpirituall howfes & miniftrie of the Church, and for that purpofe had officers and magiftrates throughout the realme, and would prefent to all benefices whom he pleased, to his

¹ Fol. 35.² Fol. 35, back.

owne no small gaine and profit. It is also thought that he had out of Fraunce a yerely pention, and whether he received any thinge out of Italie for his dignitie of Cardinall or no, it is vncertaine. It were a longe matter to reherse all the feculer busines wherein he wrapped himself and the Luker which he received ¹by *the* fame. But the most lamentable thinge to be remembred is this, that being in all this authoritie, he shewed himself in his counsell verie inconstant, and made small account of the conservacion of the trewe Amitie & frendship between princes, for therein he preferred his owne ambitious will before the common peace and tranquillitie of *Chrijten* nations. By which manner of doings he procured many great and lamentable tragedies in *Christendome*, and vnto himself the hatred of many good people, and specially of the good and vertuous ladie queene Katherin, wife to king Henrie the eight, and lykewife of *the* noble Emperour Charles the fifte, her nephewe by *the* fifters side. And yet (god be thanked) I have bene credible informed by fundrie good and wise personages that were about him and knewe much of his secretttes, that after he once espyed the sequell of his doinges he lived in great forrowe and repentance for *the* fame all his lyfe after. And being at Yorke a yere or more before his death in the kings heauey displeasure, he there lamented all the while that ever he flattered so much with the kinge, and neglected the displeasure of Almightye god. And to that effect he also sent a message to the kinge a litle before his death by Sir William Kingston, then Constable of the towre, desyryng him for gods sake to proceed noe further in this busines of divorce whatsoeuer he had said to him ²before, but rather to arme and prepare himself againt these horrible heresies dayly entring into this realm, left by ouermuch negligence in repreffing them at the first he should indaunger himselfe and his whole realme so farre, that at last the soare might be growne vncurable, wherof he shewed the example to be yet fresh in memorie in the realmes of Boheme and Hungarie. Many other lyke wordes he vttered to that effecte, wherein his repentance largely appeared. But to returne to our matter, the Cardinall fearing nowe lest the kinge in whom he perceived the lustines of youth to vade and decaie, might soone waxe

¹ Fol. 36.² Fol. 36, back.

wearye and repent himself of that wanton trade of lyfe, hitherto spent for a great part in pastime and foolish pleasure, wherby he might at last, by the good queenes perswasion (whom he knewe to beare him no great good favour) fall to straighter looking to the government of things then he had before done, and so at lence require account of his doinges : and being offended (as before is said) at the Emperour and therby made on *the* french kings part, thought best now to devise some meane how to prevent this daunger, lest by lyngring too longe, he might be disapointed of that he so desired and earnestly affected to enioye. Now what the cause was of this *the* ¹Cardinalls vniust and malicious grudge against this noble Queene, it shall not be impertinent to our purpose here by the waie to ope vnto you : and therefore you must vnderstand, that at such time as it chaunced the Archbishoppricke of Toledo in Spaine to become voide, the Cardinall hearing therof, and being (as he was in deed) a man not only covetous and greedie of riches, but also of a marvelous and high aspiring mind to honor, made meane straightway to the noble Emperour Charles the fift to have and inioy that great dignitie, causing the king to write earnestly to him in his behalf : But the wise Emperour, notinge the Cardinalls insatiable ambition and vanity, did altogether mislike of it, and would in no wise condescend to his request, wherat the Cardinall tooke such hartie displeasure against the Emperour that ever after he bare him in stomacke.

Shortly after it fortun'd the Sea Apostolicke to become vacant by the death of Pope Leo the tenth, vnto which high prelatie the Cardinall ambitiously aspired, and made great and subtil meanes by helpe of diuers frendes as well of King Henrie of England as of King Lewis of Fraunce, who for certaine purposes travayled earnestly for him ; but therof he was likewise prevented and vtterly disapointed by the Emperour, who so wrought with the Cardinalls in the conclave, that to that roome was elected Cardinall Hadrian, who sometime before had bene his ²schoolemaister, and taught him in Loraine, and was called by the name of Hadrian the sixt, a man verie rare for his singuler vertue and learninge.

These and such other things lying hott boylinge in the Car-

¹ Fol. 37.

² Fol. 37, back.

dinalls stomacke againſt the Emperour, he conceived at laſt ſuch malice againſt him, that euer after he procured and labored by all his might to kindle variance and grudge betweene the king and him, cauſing the kinge to ioyne in more affured amitie then he was wont with the kinge of Fraunce, whom he knewe to fauour Themperour nothing at all. And yet not only content to maligne and envie the Emperour alone, he alſo fought by all the meanes he coulde to annoy and diſpleaſe his freindes and kindred for his ſake. Amonge which the vertuous ladie Queene Catherin his Aunte was one, whom for her nephewes ſake he agreed and hurt many waies, but ſpecially by rayſinge this ſecrett matter of diſcorde betweene the kinge and her, wherby he might the rather bringe her in ſome miſlykinge of the kinge, and therewithall diminifhe the auncient and ſure friendſhipp ſo longe continewed betweene this Realme and the noble howſe of Burgundie; and ſo treating with the kinge on a ¹time of fundrie matters, he brake at laſt with him of his lacke of yſſue male to ſucceed him in the Crown of England, which he tooke to be the beſt meane to enter ſome ſuſpition into the kings head, for the maryage of his brothers wife. Saying vnto him that yt was a thinge much ſpoken of, as well in forrain nations as here at home in his owne realme, and therfore in conſcience (as he ſaid) he could not but aduertye him therof, for the love and duty he bare towards him, to the intent he might now conſider of it, and inquire further. The kinge being at the firſt moved and greatly diſmaide at this ſtrange motion, looking erneftly at the Cardinall for a good ſpace, ſaid at the laſt to him: “whie my lord, you know this mariage was greatly diſcuſſed in the beginninge amonge many learned men, and being by them at laſt agreed for good and lawfull, it was after confirmed and diſpenſed by the Pope himſelf, and therfore, good father, take heed what you do in this great and waightie matter,” and ſo immediatly vpon that motion departed a funder. But after that time, what by prick of his conſcience, and what by the ſleight of the Cardinall, he was as eaſily taken as a fiſh is with a hooke, for at the Cardinalls next comminge to him (which was within two or three daies after) he began to diſcuſſe with him the validitie of his maryage for a good

¹ Fol. 38.

space together. The Cardinall having obtayned fomwhat of that he desired,¹ and being now much more imbouldened then he was at *the* first rehearsed the matter more fully, and at length wifhing the kinge to conferre with his ghoftly father, which was then Doctor John Longland, Bifhopp of Lincolne, a man verie timorous, and loath to faie or doe anythinge *that* might any waies offend the kinge or the Cardinall. Now what conference had bene betweene the Cardinall and the byfhopp of Lincolne, I will not recite all that I have heard. But by verie good and credible perfons it hath bene reported, that the Cardinall ftood in feare of a blind prophecie. That a woman fhould be his confufion, which he coniectured to be this good queen Catherin; for that he was alwaies french and enemie to the Emperour and his blood. Wherefore he perfwaded the faid Bifhopp of Lincolne, that when the kinge fhould deale with him about any scruple of his maryage with his wife queen Catherin, he fhould in any wife further *the* fame as much as in him laie, and make it a matter of great confcience to Cohabit with her, being not his lawfull wife. The Bifhopp not forgetfull of his leffon, when fhortly after the king had opened the matter to him, he ftraight waies advifed him to confulte further with fome other learned Bifhoppes and Divines, for the better fatiffaccion of his² confcience, even in fuch manner as the Cardinall had instructed him, wherypon the kinge vſinge againe the advife of the Cardinall, called many other of the byfhoppes toe debate the Caufe, at the Cardinalls houſe in *Westminſter*. To this Counfell (amonge others) this worthie Bifhopp of Rocheſter was ſpecially called, and there deſired to ſpeake his minde frankly and freely: who without feare or reſpect of the kinge, the Cardinall or any other man, ſhewed that there was no caufe at all of any queſtion, ſeeing *the* maryage betweene the king and the Queene was good and lawfull from the beginninge; and therefore (ſaid he) it is rather neceſſarie to remove this ſcruple out of *the* kings breſt as ſpedily as may be. And thus in concluſion, he refelled³ and fully answered manie reaſons that were there made by waie of argument to the great ſatiffaccion (as it ſeemed) of moſt of the byſhops there aſſembled. When this matter was reported to the

¹ Fol. 38, back.² Fol. 39.³ Harleian 7049, replied.

king by *the* Cardinall, the kinge, who alreadie (as it after appeared by the sequell of the whole busines) wished nothing more then to heare of a divorce, perceived that all did and was most lyke to sticke in my lord of Rochester, wherefore consultinge againe with the Cardinall what waie were best to vse to bringe him to favoure his desire, it was advised by my lord Cardinall that the king should call vnto him my lord of Rochester, and by fair meanes worke him to incline to ¹his minde: wherefore the kinge, on a daie, sent to him and he came, the kinge vsinge him verie curteouslye gave him many reuerend and good wordes, and at last tooke him into the longe gallerie at *Westminster*; and there walking with him a while, after diuers wordes of great praise geuen him for his worthie learninge and vertue, he at last brake with him of this matter in the presence of the Dukes of *Norfolk* & *Suffolk*, and certaine of the Bishoppes, alleadinge there how fore his conscience was tormented, and how for *that* cause he had secretly consulted with his ghostly father and diuers other learned men, by whom he was not yet satisfiied, and therefore said that vpon speciall confidence in his great learninge, he had now made choise of him to vse his aduise above all others, praying him to declare his opinion freely, so as with the hearing therof he might sufficiently be instructed in his conscience, and remaine no longer in this scruple, wherwith he was so much vnquieted. My lord of Rochester hearinge all this Case proponed by the kinge, never sticke longe in answering the matter, which he both ²knew and thought to be good and true; but falling straight waies upon his knees offered to speake to the kinge, but the king *immediatly* lyfted him vp againe with his owne hands and blamed him for so doinge. Then spake this learned prelate, with a reuerend gravitie, after this or the lyke forte. "I beseech *your* grace in gods name to be of good cheere, and no further to dismay *your* self with this matter, nether to vnquyet or trouble *your* conscience for the same, for" (said he) "there is no heed to be taken to these men that account themselves so wise and arrogate to themselves more cunninge & knowledge in divinitie then had all the learned fathers and divines, both of Spaine and also of this *your* realme in *your* late fathers time, nether yet so

¹ Fol. 39, back.² Fol. 40.

much credit to be geuen vnto them as is to the Sea Apostolicke, by whose authoritie this maryage was confirmed, dispenfed, and approved for good and lawfull. Truly, truly" (said he), "my foueraigne lord and kinge, you maie well and iustly ought to make conscience of casting any scruple or doubt of this so cleere and waightie a matter in bringing it by any meanes into question, and therefore by my aduise and counsell you shall with all speed put all such thought out of *your* minde; and as for any perill or daunger that to *your* soul maie infewe therby, I am not affraid in gevinge you this counsell to take vpon my owne soul all the damage, and will not refuse to answere against all men in *your* behalf, ether privately or openly, that can any thing obiect against ¹this matter, nothing doubtinge but there are many right worthie and learned persons within this your realme, that be of this mind with me, and thinke it a verie perrilous and vnseemly thinge, that any Divorce should be spoken of; vnto which side I rather wish *your* grace to hearken then to the other. And what color or shewe they may seeme to have in this their motions to *your* highnes, yet god forbidd that *your* maiestie vpon so small a foundation should so easilie incline *your* self to hearken to any person livinge in so waightie a Cause, passed and established by so great an authoritie as the Sea Apostolick." These and diuers other lyke wordes he there vttered to the kinge which might have satisfied his sicke minde, had not he bene other wise perversly bent, and therefore all was in vaine; for the king (whether vpon remorse of conscience, in deed, or seduced with any other affection, I know not) alienated himself daily more and more from the company of the good queene, his wiffe, refusing to heare or geve care to all good counsell geuen him by this good father & other learned men to the contrary, and so for that time my lord of Rochester departed from the kinge, who from that day forward never looked on him with merry countenance, as the good bishop did wel perceive, for that his grudge daily increased towards him.

²Whiles these things were thus in doinge it came to passe that the king was fallen in love with a yong gentlewoman in the Court wayting on the Queene, called *Mistris* Ann Bollen, daughter of S.

¹ Fol. 40, back.

² Fol. 41.

Thomas Bollen, knight, who after, for his daughters sake, was promoted to many high honors and dignities. This *Mistress* Ann had sometime before that bene brought vp in the Court of Fraunce with the ladie marie, the french queene, that was sister to kinge Henrie & sometime wife to king Lewis the XIIth; where she learned much Courtly fashion and manners, strange and daintie in the English Court, wherein she far surpassed other ladies, her companions, which so inflamed the kings minde, that in the end he tooke her into his secret and deepe favour, and so continued many daies towards her, she knowing yet nothinge thereof. But the flame at length burned so far within him that he began not only to speake of his forethought divorce with Queene Catherin, but also of a new maryage with *Mistress* Ann Bollen, wherein is to be noted the iust and secret workinge of Almightye God; for although the Cardinall (to satisfie his ambitious humor in establishing *that* thinge which he somewhat doubted) had wrought this variaunce between the king and *the* good queen, it fell out cleane contrarie to his expectacion, for it was nothing his meaninge the king should incline his minde to a new marriage this way, but rather els where, as he ¹ had devised, wherefore after *Mistress* Ann had once knowledge of the kings secret good will towards her, and of the Cardinalls contrarie workinge to withstand the same, she so ordered the matter that in short space she wrought the Cardinalls vtter confusion, for now began *the* matter to worke apace, and that to be now earnestly and openly called vpon, which hitherto was but secretly handled in Counsells and Conuocations of Bishoppes and other learned Divines. The kinge, I say, began to open himself more fully then he had yet done, and for that purpose were at my lord Cardinalls howse at Westminster, assembled many notable and famous Clerkes, not only of both the vniversities of Cambrige and Oxford, but also of diuers Cathedrall Churches & religious howses of this realme. There was this *the* kings matter debated, argued, and consulted the space of many daies, that it was a wonderfull thing to heare, but yet all fell not out so cleere for the king as it was expected; for by the opinion of the greatest number, the cause was to hard and of to great importance for them to decide, and

¹ Fol. 41, back.

therefore the fathers departed without any resolution. Howbeit diuers of the byshops were of minde that *the* king should send his Orators to fundrie vniuersities, aswell abroad in *Christendome* as to the two vniuersities at home, to haue his cause discussed substantially amonge them, and *the* definicion therof to bringe with them in wrytinge vnder their common seales,¹ which was done accordingly to the kings great cost & charges; for yt was well knowne that these seales were obtained by corruption of money, and not by any free graunt or consent; neuertheles, great ioy was made for obtayninge therof, and the Orators were highly rewarded at their returne for their great laboures and travells, some with Bishopricks, and some otherwise farr beyond their merittes and deservings. Notwithstanding, the matter proceeded a pace, and these Instrumetes thus obtayned vnder *the* vniuersities seales were all delivered into the Cardinalls handes, who immediatly sent for all the Bishops, and fell to counsultacion once againe, but all to litle purpose; for ther *the* conclusion was, that although *the* vniuersities had geuen out these censures vnder their seales, yet was the cause to great for them to define of themselves, and therefore not to be further dealt in by them without the authoritie of the Sea Apostolick; wherfore yt was agreed that the kinge should send to Rome certaine Orators with the seales of these Vniuersities, to treat with the Pope for his confirmacion. According to which resolution the Ambassadors were speedily dispatched to the Popes holiness, which then was Clement the VIIth. The Ambassadors names were these: Doctor Stephen Gardiner, the kings Secretarie; Sir Thomas Bryan, knight, one of the gentlemen of the kings privie chamber; Sir Gregorie de Cassales, an Italian; and Maister² Peter Vanus, a Venetian. These Ambassadors being arrived at Rome, after they had propounded the cause of their comminge, and a while rested themselves, the matter fell speedily in hand. Then wanted no posting of letters betweene *the* kinge and *the* ambassadors, instructing them from time to time how to deale with the Pope, that this busines might be brought about. Lykewise the Cardinall omitted noe time or occasion by his letters to sett forward the same. But (god so orderinge the matter) the Ambassadors were

¹ Fol. 42.² Fol. 42, back.

not half so haſtie in demaunding, but the Pope was as ſlow in grauntinge, and much the ſlower, by reaſon of his ſickneſs, being at that time ſo fore pained with *the* goute that there was doubt of his life. Wherefore after knowledge come once to the kinge and the Cardinall, then letters went thicke and threefold to the Orators, willinge them to call more ernestly vpon him for his definitive anſwere, thinking now by reaſon of the great paine he continueally felt of his infirmitie, he would the rather be ridd of their callinge, and ſo end the matter, according to their demaund. further, they had inſtruction from the king and the Cardinall in their letters, that in caſe the Pope chanced to die at this preſent, *that* then they ſhould by all meanes they could deviſe ſome way how the Cardinall of Yorke might be elected to ſucceed in ¹the place, and for furtherance therof to deale with certaine Cardinalls, promiſinge them in the kings name golden mountaines and ſilver rivers to geve their ſuffrages with him. And in caſe they would not by this meanes bringe their purpoſes to paſſe, but that the Cardinalls in *the* Conclave would needes chuſe into the place ſome ſuch as perhaps would not further *the* kings entent, then to take vp a ſome of money vpon the kings credit, and therewithall to raiſe a power or *preſidie* of men (as by the kings letters and the Cardinalls it is tearmed), and taking with them ſuch Cardinalls as might be brought to favour their purpoſe, to depart out of the Cittie into ſome out place not farr of, and there to make a ſchiſme in election of the Cardinall of Yorke to the Papacie. But (lauded be god) all fell out otherwiſe then was then mente; for the Pope recovered health, & after lived to finiſh all buſines, though in deed cleane otherwiſe then the kinge expected, as after ſhall be declared. wherefore ſeeing none of theſe waies would ſpeed, and finding that the Pope would make no ſuch haſt in ſatiſfying the kings deſire as the Orators required, yt was at laſt requereſted that it might pleaſe his holynes to ſend a Legate into England, geving him full authoritie to heare the Caſe debated there, and finally to geve ſentence according to right and equitie. After *the* expences of many ²daies the Pope was at laſt contented (with much adoe) to agree to that requeſt; and to this affaire he appointed Law-

¹ Fol. 43.² Fol. 43, back.

rence Campagius, a Cardinall of the Church of Rome, intituled : fancte Mariæ trans Tiberim : a man verie well learned, and of great corrage and magnaninitie, to whom the king, about ten yeres afore, had geven the Bifhoprick of Bathe at his being in England about another matter. The Ambaffadors beinge returned with this conclufion there refted no more then but to prepare for the legates comminge ; who (after longe expectacion and many wearie iorneyes) arived at laft in England, and cominge to london was lodged at Bath place, fome-time his owne howfe : But before his arival it was thought verie neceffary by fuch as favored the kings purpofe, that *the* Cardinall of Yorke fhould be ioyned in Commiffion with him. Whervpon fuch fpeedie order was taken that before Campagius came to Callis, a new Commiffion was brought him from the Pope, wherin the Cardinall of Yorke and he were made ioynt Commiffioners together. And becaufe the Pope vnderftood that king Henry defired nothing more then a full & fpeedie expedition of this matter, and was verie impatient of longe tractinge¹ of time in tryall therof, ²the more to put the king in hope of readie iuftice (if the equitie of his caufe fo required), he made (as I have heard fay) a Bull of fentence to be written readie, wherin the maryage was vtterly fruftrat and made void ; and this Bull he deliuered verie fecretly to Cardinall Campeius after his departure, willing and charging him, neuertheles, that after the Bull once fhowed to the kinge and the Cardinall, he fhould after keepe it clofe from all others, and in no wyfe to publifh the fame till fuch time as he had received a new authoritie and commaundment from him ; no although he fawe and had proof of fufficient matter fo to geve fentence. And this the Pope did only to the intent that *the* kinge fhould the more quietly be content to have all tryed in dew forme and order of lawe, although it were the longer in doinge. When the two Cardinalls were mett and had commoned a feafon of their bufines, they firft tooke order for the open readinge and declaringe of their commiffion. Then a place was afigned where it fhould be done, and that was at the Dominicke Freers in London, and the king with the queene his wife fhould be lodged at a place now called Bridewell, ftanding hard by. Then ftood readie *the*

¹ treatinge, Harleian 7049.² Fol. 44.

Counfellors learned as well on the kings part as on the queens; for the kinge (because he would seeme indifferent) willed the queen to chuse her counsell: which although of her self she would chuse none at all, because she suspected the indifferencie of the kings owne subiectes towardes her being in his owne dominion and Realme, yet for fashion sake ¹were assigned vnto her diuers learned men; that is to say of Divines. This excellent man of whom we intreate, John Fyfher, Bishopp of Rochester; Henrie Standish, byshopp of Saint Asaph; Thomas Abell, Richard Fetherstone, Edward Powell, and Robert Ridley, all Doctors of Divinitie. And of Civillians and Canonists were there, William Warham, Archbishopp of Canterberie; Cuthbert Tunstall, byshop of London; Nicholas West, byshopp of Elye; and John Clarke, byshopp of Bathe, because Cardinall Campagius was then translated to the Sea of Salefburie: she had also other profound Clerkes, aswell divines as lawyers. On the kings part were also another lyke number of learned doctors. Then peace and silence was proclaymed, and the Commiffion was read; that being done, this our learned bishopp offered vp to the Legates a booke which he had compyled in defence of the maryage, and therewith made a learned and grave Oration vnto them, desyring them to take good heede what they did in this waightie Cafe, putting them in minde of fundrie manifold daungers that were lykely to ensue, not only to this Realme, but also to the whole state of *Christendome*, by bringing in question the validitie or invaliditie of this maryage, being in deed a matter so plaine, as there was no doubt therein at all. After that his oration was ended, the kinge was called ²by name, and answered (here). Then was the queen called, who made no answer, but rose immediatly out of her chair, and comminge aboute by the Courte, she kneeled down to the kinge openly in sight of the Legates and all the Court, & spake in effect these wordes, some in broken english, and some in french. "Sir" (quoth she), "I beseech you doe iustice and right and take some pittie vpon me, for I am a simple woman and a stranger, borne out of your dominions, havinge here no indifferent counsell, and lesse assurance of frendship. Alas, Sir, what have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure have I

¹ Fol. 44, back.² Fol. 45.

geven you, that should goe about to put me from you after this sort. I take god to my iudge I have bene to you a trewe and humble wife ever conformable to *your* will and pleasure. I neuer contraried or gainfaid you therin, but alwaies contented my self with all things wherein you had delight and pleasure, whether yt were litle or much, without grudge or countenance of discontentacion. I loved for *your* sake all them that you loved, whether I had cause or not, or whether they were my frendes or foes; I have bene *your* wife this twentie yeres, and you have had by me diuers children, and when you tooke me at the first (I take god to my iudge) I was a verie maide, and whether it be trewe or noe I put it to *your* conscience. ¹Now if there be any iust cause that you alleadge against me, ether of dishonestie or other matter, wherby you may put me from you, I am content to depart with shame and rebuke; but yf there be none, then, I pray you, let me have iustice at *your* hands. The kinge, *your* father, was in his time of such an excellent witt that he was accounted of many men for his wifdome a second Solomon. And king Ferdinando, my father, was reckoned to be one of the wyfdest princes that raygned in Spaine many yeres before his daies. These being both so wise princes, it is not to be doubted but they had gathered vnto them as wise Counsellors of euery realme as by their wifdomes they thought meet: And as I take yt, there were in those daies as wise and well learned in both realmes as be now in these daies, who thought at that time the marryage between you and me to be good and lawfull. But of all this busines I may thanke you, my lord Cardinall of Yorke, who having longe fought to make this dissention between my lord the kinge and me, because I have so ofte found fault with *your* pompe and vanitie and aspiring mind. Howbeit, this *your* malice against me proceedeth not from you as in respect of my self aloane, but *your* cheefe displeasure is against my ²Nephewe the Emperour, for that at his handes you were first repelled from the Bishopprieke of Toledo, which greedily you desired; and after that were by his meanes kept from the cheefe and high Bishopprieke of Rome, whervnto most ambitiously you aspired: wherat being sore offended, and yet not able to revenge *your* quarrell on him, you

¹ Fol. 45, back.² Fol. 46.

have now raied this quarrell againſt me, his poore Aunte, thinking therby to eaſe *your* cruell minde, for the which god forgeve you and amend you. It is therfore a wonder to heare what newe inventions are nowe deviſed againſt me that neuer intended but honeſtly. And now to cauſe me to ſtand to the order and iudgment of this Court, ye ſhould (ſaid ſhe to the kinge) do me much wronge, as ſeemeth to me, ſeeinge one of the iudges is partiall againſt me, and hath fought meanes to raiſe this diſpleaſure betweene you and me. And further, yf I ſhould agree to ſtande to the iudgment of this courte ye may condemne me for lacke of anſwere, havinge noe counſell but ſuch as you have aſſigned me, and thoſe ye may well conſider cannot be indifferent on my part, ſeeinge they be *your* owne ſubiectes and ſuch as you have taken & choſen out of *your* owne counſell, whervnto they are privie and dare not diſcloſe *your* will and intent. Therefore ¹I reſuſe here to ſtand to the order of this Courte, and doe appeale to the Sea Apoſtolicke before our holy father the Pope, humbly beſeechinge you in the way of charitie to ſpare me till I may further vnderſtand what waye my frendes in Spaine will adviſe me to take; And yf you will not this doe, then *your* pleaſure be fulfilled.” And with that ſhe roſe vp, and makinge a lowe Curteſie to *the* kinge departed, leavinge there many a weeping eye & forrowfull hart, that heard her lamentable wordes. Amongſt whom this worthie Biſhop of Rocheſter (as one that knewe moſt of the equitie of the cauſe) was not able to refraine from teares: which open fight cauſed many other to have the more compaſſion of the good queenes cauſe.

As ſoone as the queen was vp, it was ſuppoſed *that* ſhe would have returned to her place from whence ſhe came, but ſhe departed ſtraight out of the Court, and would in no wiſe returne, ſaying to ſuch as were about her, that ſhe would no longer tarrye, for *the* Court was not indifferent for her; and ſo ſhe departed for that time, and would neuer after appeare in open court.

²The kinge, perceivinge that ſhe was thus gone, & conſidering well on the wordes ſhe had there ſpoken, ſaid to the audience thus in effect. / ‘Foraſmuch as the queene is now gone, I will in her

¹ Fol. 46, back.

² Fol. 47.

abſence declare vnto you all, That ſhe hath bene to me as trewe, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could wiſh or deſire; ſhe hath all the vertuous qualitties *that* ought to be in a woman of her dignitie, or any other, yea, though ſhe were of baſer ſtate. She is alſo a noble woman borne, as her noble condicions will well declare, and the ſpeciall cauſe that moved me in this matter was a certaine ſcruple, *that* prickt my conſcience. Whether my daughter Marie ſhould be legitimate or no, in reſpect of this marryage with this woman being ſometimes my brothers wife: which thinge once conceived in the ſecrettes of my breſt, by a certain occaſion geuen me when time was, ingendred ſuch a ſcrupilous doubt in me, that my mind was incontinently accombred, vexed, and diſquyeted, wherby I miſtruſted my ſelfe to be greatly in the daunger of gods indignacion, which appeared to me (as to me ſeemed the rather), for that he ſent vs no iſſue male, and that all ſuch iſſues as ſhe had by me dyed incontinently after ¹they came into this world: So that I doubted *the* great diſpleaſure of Almightye god in that behalf. Thus my conſcience, beinge toſſed too and froe with the waves of continewall vnquietnes, and almoſt in diſpaire to haue any other yſſue then I had already by this ladie, it behooved me further to conſider the ſtate of this Realme, and the daunger it ſtood in for lacke of a prince to ſucceed me. And therefore, I thought it good in releaſe of this mightie burthen of my conſcience, and the quiet ſtate of this noble realme, to attempt the lawe therin, whether I might lawfully take an other wife, by whom god may ſend me yſſue, in caſe this, my firſt marryage, were not good. And this is the only cauſe I have fought thus farr, and not for any diſpleaſure or diſlikinge of the queens perſon or age, with whom I could be as well content to continewe (yf our marryage maie ſtand with *the* lawes of god) as with any woman alive. And in this point conſiſteth all the doubt that we goe about to trie, by the learninge, wiſdome, & iudgmentes of you, my lordes, the prelates and paſtors of this our realme, now here aſſembled for that purpoſe: to whoſe conſcience and learninge I have committed *the* charge therof, and according to that will I be content (god willinge) to ſubmitt myſelf with obedience. And that ²I ment

¹ Fol. 47, back.² Fol. 48.

not to wade in so waightie a matter of my self without the opinion and iudgment of you, my lordes spirituall, it may well appeare in this, that shortly after the comminge of this scruple into my head, I moved it to you, my lord of Lincolne, then my ghostly father. And forasmuch as *your* self were then in some doubt, you advised me to aske the Counsell of the rest of my Lordes the Bishops; whervpon I moved you, my lord of Canterburie, first to haue *your* licence (in as much as you were metropolitane) to put this matter in question; and so I did of all you, my lordes, to which you all graunted under *your* seales, and that I have here to be shewed.' 'That is trew, yf yt please *your* grace,' quoth my lord of Canterburie, 'and I doubt not but my bretheren here will acknowledge the same.' /

Then my lord of Rochester, knowinge the cleernes of his owne conscience, and perceivinge the dooble dealinge in this matter, was forced for discharge of his owne credit and truth, to breake a litle square, and said to my lord of Canterburie, 'No, no, my lord, not soe. Vnder *your* favour all the bishopps were not so farre agreed, for to that instrument you have nether my hand nor seale.' 'Noe, ah,' (quoth the kinge,) & therewith lookinge vpon my lord of Rochester with a frowninge ¹countenance, said, 'looke here, Is not this *your* hand and *your* seale?' and shewed him the Instrument with seales. 'No, for sooth,' quoth the Bishop. 'How saie you to that?' said the kinge to my lorde of Canterburie. 'Sir,' said he, 'it is his hand and his seale.' 'No, my lord,' quoth the Bishop of Rochester againe. 'Indeed, you were often in hand with me for my hand and my seale, as other of my lords have done; but then I euer said to you, I would in no wise consent to any such Acte, for it was much against my conscience to have this matter so much as once called in question, and therefore my hand and seale should neuer be put to any such instrument, god willinge, with more comunicacion between vs in that busines, yf you remember.' 'Indeed,' quoth my lord of Canterburie, 'Trew it is that such wordes you had with me, but after our talke ended, you were at last resolved and content that I should subscribe *your* name, and put to *your* seale, and you would allowe *the* same as yf it had bene done by *your* self.' Then my lord

¹ Fol. 48, back.

of Rochester, feelinge himself so iniustly charged by the Bishop of Canterburie, said vnto him openly againe, 'No, my lord, by your favour and licence, all this you have said of me is vntrewe'; and with ¹that ment to have said more, but that the king stopping him, said, 'Well, well, my lord of Rochester, it maketh noe great matter; we will not stand with you in argument about this busines, for you are but one man amonge *the* rest, if the worst fall.' and so for that time all was ended.

Shortly after, an other daie of fittinge was appointed, where they two Cardinalls were present, at which time the Counsell on both sides were there readie to answer. There was much matter proponed by the Counsell on the kings parte to prove the maryage not lawfull from the begininge, becaufe of the carnall copulacion had betweene prince Arthur and the queene. This matter being vehemently vrged, many reasons and similitudes were alleadged to prove the carnall copulacion, but, being againe negatively answered by the counsell of the queenes side, all seemed to rest vpon proof, which was verie hard and almost vnpossible to be tryed. But my lord of Rochester said, that the truth of this marryage was plaine ynough to be proved good and lawfull from the begininge, whether there were carnall knowledge betweene the parties or noe; for the Case (he said) was thoroughly scanned and debated in the begininge by many great learned Divines and lawiers, wherof ²himself remembred the time, and was not altogether ignorant of the manner of dealinge therin. And being after ratified and approved by authoritie of the Sea Apostolicke, so amply and so largely, he thought yt a hard matter to call it now againe in question before any other Judge. Then spake doctor Ridley (who was a man of verie litle and small personage / but high of corrage and profound in learninge), and he said to my lord Cardinall, That it was a great shame and dishonor to this honorable prefence, that any such presumptuous similitudes & Coniectures should be so openly alleadged: for they be detestable to be rehearsed. 'What!' (quoth my lord Cardinall), 'domine doctor, magis reuerenter.' 'No, no, my lord,' quoth he, 'there belongeth no reuerence to be geven at all, for an vnreuerent matter would be

¹ Fol. 49.² Fol. 49, back.

vnreverently answered.' Against that Court daie the Bifhop of London, Cuthbert Tunftall, had framed and written a verie learned treatife in defence of *the* queenes maryage, which he deliuered before to Cardinall Campeius, to be read at the daie: but the king, fearinge him much (as he was indeed a very famous learned man), made fuch speedie order with him, that he was of ¹purpofe fent away ambaffador into Scotland about a matter of fmall importance, and appeared not in *the* Court the fecond fittinge, by reafon wherof the booke was not reade at all: Neuertheles, Cardinall Campeius called for him, and wifhed to heare him fpeake, for he faid in latine: Cum Tonftallum lego videor mihi ipfum vfpiam audire. Thus, proceedinge from daie to daie, the Legates ftill fate at their accuftomed place, but all matters of queftion were cleane laid afide, feeing the queen had appealled, and they now inquired only of fuch things as belonged to infturccion of the caufe, and informacion to be geuen to the Popes holines. / But the Bifhopp of Elie, beinge one of the queenes counfell, and one that miftrufteed the Cardinall of Yorke iuft and trewe dealinge with her, openly declared in his wrytinge that he marveled what my lordes *the* legates ment, to heare or hould any further plea of this matter, feeing the queen had made her appeale to a higher Judge then they. The matter beinge come to this conclufion the kinge was cleane difappointed, and driven now to feeke a new waie. Wherefore he fent for the Cardinall of Yorke to come vnto him, and gave vnto him a greate charge to goe with the other Cardinall his fellowe to *the* queen, and by their wifdomes to perfwade with her to geue ouer her appeall, and to ftand to the iudgment of ²this Court, or els to furrender the matter into his handes, which fhould be much better and more honorable for both parties than to ftand to open tryall in the Court of Rome. / The Cardinall, to fatiffie the kings pleafure, did accordinge to his commaundment, but all in vaine, for the queen ftood verie ftiffly to her appeale, and could by no meanes be altered from that minde; for any thinge the Cardinall of Yorke could faie or doe, who was much more ernest with her then the other Cardinall was, fhe alleadinge ftill for her felf, her fimplicitie and vnablenes to anfwere in fo waigtie a matter, beinge but a woman, and cleane

¹ Fol. 50.² Fol. 50, back.

destitute of frendes or counsell here within the kings realme, for (thinke you) said she, that any of the kings subiectes will adventure themselves to incurre his displeasure for my cause? No, no: And therefore I pray you beare with me, a poore woman destitute of frendship, and lett me have *your* charitable counsell what is best for me to doe, so as all may be ended to the glorie of god and satisfaccion of the kings *maiestie* and me. This *communicacion* ended, they returned to the kinge and made relation of her talke. /

This strange Case proceedinge thus from day to day & court to Court, the kinge at last grewe wearie and ¹urged the Cardinalls to a finall daie of sentence, at which time the kinge came thither, and was openly sett in his Chayre to heare the iudgment, where all their proceedings and actes were openly read in latine: That done the kinges Counsell called for iudgment: with that said Cardinall Campeius in latin, "No, not so, I will geve no sentence till I have made relation vnto the Pope of all our doings, whose commandment I will observe in this Case; the matter is to high for vs to define hastily, considering the highnes of the persons and the doubtfull argumentes alleadged, remembringe also whose *commissioners* we be, and vnder whose authoritie we sitt, it were (me thinketh) good reason we should make our cheef head of counsell therewith before we proceede to sentence definitive. I come not hither to please, for favour, meede, or dreed of any person alive, be he kinge or subiect, neither have I such respect to the person, that I will offend my conscience or displease god. I am now an ould man, both weake and sicklye, and daily looke for death; and should I nowe put my soul in daunger of gods displeasure to my everlastinge damnacion for the favour or feare of any prince in this worlde? My comminge hither is only to see ²iustice ministred accordinge to my conscience. And for asmuch as I vnderstand by the allegacions the matter to be verie doubtfull and also that the partie defendant will make no answere here, but doth rather appeale from vs, supposinge that we cannot be indifferent iudges for her, consideringe the kings high authoritie and dignitie within his owne realme, where she thinketh we dare not doe her iustice, for feare of his displeasure. Therefore to avoid all these

¹ Fol. 51.² Fol. 51, back.

ambiguities I will not damne my foule for any prince or potentate alive. In confideration wherof I intend not to wade any further in this matter till I have the iust opinion & affent of the Pope, and fuch other as be better feen in fuch doubtfull caufes of lawe then I am. Wherefore I do here adiourne this Court for this time, accordinge to the order of the Court of Rome, from whence our authoritie is derived, which yf we fhould tranfgrefse might be accounted in vs great follie and rafhnes, and redound to our difcredit and blame. And with that the Court was diffolyed, and no more was euer done after that daie.

¹The noble men about the kinge, feeinge all this bufines come to this conclufion, began to mutine and fpeake ill of the two Cardinalls, fpecially fuch as were flatterers & parasites about the kinge. In fo much as the Duke of Suffolke, Charles Brandon, whom the kinge hadd before highly aduanced from a bafe ftate to great honors and poffeffions, and alfo geuen him his owne fifter in marriage, clapping his hands on the board, fware, by gods blood, that he found now the oulde faying was trewe: That Cardinalls did neuer good in England, and that he fpake with fuch a fpirit of vehemencie, and with fo clamarous a noyfe, *that* all men about him marveled what he mente; and wife men thought he durft not thus have faid, but that he knew the kings minde aforehande.

The kinge himfelf conceived lykewife greate indignacion and difpleafure, both againft *the* Cardinall of Yorke, and alfo the queenes counfell, for that he had lofte and fpente in vaine (as he thought) all this longe time, and grewe now fo wrathfull againft them that he detirmined in his minde neuer to ceafe till he was revenged on them all, as after it came ²to paffe in deede, though greatly to all their merittes and euerlaftinge glorie, and his owne perpetuall ignominy and reproach; for of this braunch proceeded *the* death, not only of this holy and reuerend bifhop of whom we intreate, but alfo of that glorious man, Sir Thomas More, with many other worthie and famous prelates and lay men, wherof three, that were fometime of the queenes learned Counfell in this matter of diuorfe, were put to moft cruell death in Smithfeild, all in one daie, which was alfo ment

¹ Fol. 52.² Fol. 52, back.

to the rest had it not bene that death by great forrow and greefe shorthened some of their daies, and prevented the kings purpose, as happened to the byshop of Eelye and Doctor Rydley. And some other not being of such fortitude as the rest were, yelded them selves for feare to the kings will and pleasure, leaving the queene (as they call yt) in plaine feilde. Amonge which the bifhop of Canterburie was one who most deceived her and many moe.

Cardinall Campeius perceiving *the* kinge now fallen into this furie, and further seeing that there was no more to be done by him nor his fellowe (the queene havinge made her appeale), he thought it therefore best to be shortly gone, and so taking his ¹leave of the kinge departed towards Rome, after he had tarried in England about this busines nighe the space of one yere. He was no sooner gone, but a rumor rose (I wott not by what meanes) that he had carried with him a greate heap of treasure of the other Cardinalls, who for fear of the kings displeasure was suspected lykely to flie out of the realme. Infomuch as he sent speedily after Cardinall Campeius certaine persons, who ouertooke him at Callis, and there staid him till he was searched verie narrowly, and when they had done all that could be done, they found about him scant so much money as would pay for his rydinge charges, and so dismissed him on his iorney greatly discontented. Now although the color of this searcho was for the Cardinall of Yorkes treasure, yet in deed it was well knowne after to be done for an other purpose; for the kinge thought to haue found about him the Instrumēt (wherof we spake lately before) deliuered vnto him by the Pope at his departure from Rome, wherein was containyd the sentence of Divorce: which if he might have found, no doubt but he would have made some play therewith, whether *the* meaninge of the Pope had bene to have it published or no. But he was for all that deceived of his purpose, and all they that gave him Counsell to the same.

² By this time the kings ire was so fore kindled against the whole Clergie, and specially against this our holy Bifhop (whom he knewe to beare such a stroake amonge them, that as longe as he was there nothinge could succeed accordinge to his purpose), that he began to

¹ Fol. 53.

² Fol. 53, back.

devise newe lawes against the right and patrimonye of the Church ; for in the xxijth yere of his raigne he sommoned a parlement to begin at London the third daie of November, which was in the yere of our Lord god 1529. In this parlement the *common howse* was so parcially chofen, that the king had his will almost in all things that himself lifted ; for where in old time the king vsed to direct his brieffe or writ of parleament to euery Cittie, Borrough, and corporat towne within this Realme, *that* they amonge them should make election of two honest, fitt, and skilfull men of their owne number to come to this parleament ; the same order and forme of *the Writt* was now in this parleament obserued ; but then with euery writte there came also a private letter from some one or other of the kings Counsellors, requestinge them to chuse the persons nominated in their letters, who fearing their great authoritie, durst commonly chuse none other ; so that where in times past, ¹the *Common howse* was vsually furnished with grave and discreet townes men, apparreled in comlie and sage furred gownes ; now might you have seene in this parleament fewe others then roystinge courteours, servingmen, parasites, and flatterers of all fortes highly apparelled in short clokes and swordes, and as lightly furnished ether with learninge or honestie, so that when any thing was moved against the spiritualtie or the libertie of the church, to that they harkned dilligently, geving straight their assentes in any thing that the king would require. Then were preferred in the *common howse*, all the flaundersous bills against the Clergie that might be devised, complayning of their ydleness, their great wealth, and abuse in spendinge of their revennews : wherof although some bills were reiecte in the higher howse, yet many toke place. Amonge whiche one was, for abating of charges in the probate of Testaments and wills : An other was for diminishinge of mortuaries ; Another against pluralities of benefices and taking of Farmes by spirituall men, which were all directly passed by the *common howse* in derogation and preiudice of the Church : but after they were brought to the higher howse and there read, my lord of Rochester stepped vp amonge the other ²lordes, and said in effect as followeth : “ My lordes, I pray you for gods

¹ Fol. 54.² Fol. 54, back.

fake consider what bills are here daily preferred from the commons ;
 what the same may found in some of *your* yeres I cannot tell, but
 in my yeres they found all to this effect. That our holy Mother the
 Church beinge left vnto vs by the great liberallitie and dilligence
 of our forefathers, in most perfect & peaceable freedome, shall now
 by vs be brought into servile thraldome, lyke to a bound maid, or
 rather by litle & litle to be cleane banished and driven out of
 our confines and dwelling places ; for els to what end should all
 this importunate and iniurious petitions from the Commons tende ?
 What strange words be here vttered, not to be heard of any *Chri-*
stian eares, and vnworthie to be spoken in the hearing of *Chri-*
stian princes ; For they saie *that* bishops and their associates, Abbots,
 priests, and other of *the* Clergie are vitious, ravenous, insatiable,
 ydle, cruell, and so forth. What, are all of this sort ? or is there
 any of these abuses that the Clergie seeke not to extirpe & destroy ?
 Be there not lawes already provided against such and many moe
 disorders ? Are not bookes full of them to be reade of such as list to
 reade them, yf they were executed ? But, my lordes, beware of *your*
 selves and *your* Countrey ; nay, beware of the libertie of our ¹mother
 the Church. Luther, one of the most cruell enemies to the faith
 that ever was, is at hand, and the common people studie for
 novelties, and with good will heare what can be said in favour of
 heresie. What successe is there to be hoped for in these attempts
 other then such as our neighbours have already tasted, whose harmes
 may be a good warning to vs ? Remember with *your* selves what
 these sects and divisions have wrought amonge the Bohemians and
 Germans, who, besides an innumerable number of mischeefes fallen
 amonge them, have almost lost their auncient and catholyke faith :
 And what by the snares of John Huffle, and after him Martin
 Luther (whom they reuerence like a prophett), they have almost
 excluded them selves from the Vnitie of *Christes* holy Church. These
 men now amonge vs seeme to reprove the life and doings of the
 clergie ; but after such a sort as they indeavour to bringe them into
 contempt and hatred of the layetie, and so findinge false with other
 mens manners whom they haue noe authoritie to correct, omitt

¹ Fol. 55.

and forget their owne, which is far worfe & much more out of order then the other. But yf *the* truth were knowne ye fhall find that they rather hunger and thirft after the riches and poffeffions of *the* clergie ¹then after amendment of their faltes and abufes. And therefore it was not for nothing that this motion was lately made for the fmall Monafteries to be taken into the kings handes. Wherefore I will tell you (my lordes) playnly, what I thinke, except you refift manfully by *your* authorities this violent heape of mifcheefe offered by the *commons*, ye fhall fhortly fee all obedience withdrawne, firft from *the* clergie, and after *your* felves, whervpon will infewe the vtter ruine and daunger of the Chriftian faith; and in place of it (that which is lykely to followe) the moft wicked and tyrannicall government of the Turke; for ye fhall finde that all thefe mifcheefs amonge them ryfeth through lack of faith."

This fpeech beinge ended, although there were diuers of the Clergie that lyked well therof, and fome of *the* Layetie alfo, yet were there fome againe that feemed to miflyke the same only for flatterie & feare of *the* king, in fo much as the Duke of Norffolke reproved him half merrily and half angerly, fayinge that many of thefe wordes might have bene miffed, adding further thefe wordes (ywis, my lord, it is many times feene that the greateft clerkes be not alwayes the wifeft men); ²but to that he answered as merrily againe, and faid that he could not remember any fooles in his time *that* had proved great clerkes. But when the *commons* heard of thefe wordes fpoken againft them, they ftraightwaie conceived fuch difpleafure againft my lord of Rochefter, that by the mouth of *Maifter* Audley, their Speaker, they made a greevous complaint to the king of his wordes, fayinge, that it was a great difcredit to them all to be thus charged that they lacked faith, which in effect was all one to faie they were hereticks and infidells, and therefore defired the king that they might have fome remedie againft him. The kinge therefore to fatiffie them called my lord of Rochefter before him, and demaunded whie he fpake in that fort: And he answered againe that (being in counfell) he fpake his minde in defence and right of the Church, whom he fawe daily iniured and oppreffed amonge the *common* people, whose

¹ Fol. 55, back.

² Fol. 56.

office was not to deale *with* her, and therefore said that he thought himself in conscience bound to defend her all that he might. The kinge neuertheles willed him to vse his wordes temperatly. And so the matter ended, much to the discontentacion of *Maister* Audley and diuers others of the common howfe.

In the same parlement was also a motion made (as ye have heard before), that the king had bene at ¹great charges and large expences in fuinge forth fundrie *Instrumentes* towchinge the divorce betweene him and queene Catherine, which chiefly rose (as was there said) by the false and dooble dealinge of the Cardinall and the Clergie, and therefore reason that it shoulde be answered amouge them againe. And to satisfie this matter withall, nothing was thought so convenient as to recompence him in the Convocacion, by graunting vnto him all the small Abbays and Monasteries within this realme of the valewe of two hundred poundes, landes and vnder. This matter was hardly vrged and sett forth by many of the kings counsell, with all the terrible shewe that might be of the kings displeasure, yf it were not graunted according to his request and demaund. Infomuch as diuers of the Convocacion, fearinge the kings greivous indignacion and crueltie, and thinking that their yelding in this matter would be a meane to stopp all and save the rest, were of minde to condiscend to that demaund. But the good father could neuer be brought to that opinion, but openly resisted it with all the force he could. And on a time said amouge them, "My lordes, I praeie you take good heed what you doe in hastie grauntinge to the kings demaund in this great matter. It is here required that we shoulde ²graunt vnto him the small Abbaies for the ease of his charges; whervnto, yf we condiscend, it is lykely the great will be demaunded or it be longe after: And therefore consideringe the mauner of this dealinge it putteth me in remembrance of a fable. Howe the Axe that lacked a handle came on a time to the wood, and making his moane to the great trees, how that for lack of a handle to worke withall he was faine to stand ydle: he therfore desired of them to graunt him some yonge sapling in the wood to make him one; they mistrustinge no guile forth with graunted a

¹ Fol. 56, back.

² Fol. 57.

yong small tree, wherof he fhaped himself a handle, and being at laft a perfect axe in all points, he fell to worke, and fo labored in the wood, that in proceffe of time he left nether great tree nor small ftandinge. And fo, my lordes, yf ye graunt to the kinge the small Monasteries ye do but make him a handle, and fo geve him occaſion to demaund the reft or it be longe after, wherof cannot but enfewe the difpleaſure of Almightye god in that ye take vpon you to geve the things that is none of *your owne*." To this Counſell moſt of the lordes in the Convocacon inclyned, and fo for that time all was reiected and no more ſaid as longe as this good father lived; but ſhortly after his death the matter was revived and graunted to the kings firſt will and pleaſure.

¹Now whileſt theſe things were thus in handlinge, it chaunced this reuerend father to fall into a great daunger and perrill, wherby he eſcaped verie narrowly with his life; for a certaine naughtye perſon, of a moſt damnable and wicked diſpoſition, provided on a daie a quantitie of poiſon, and came with the ſame into my lord of Rochesters howſe to the Cooke, beinge of his acquaintance, between whom, after a few wordes had paſſed, the Cooke offered him to drinke, and ſo went to the buttrie to fetch him drinke: Then this vngodly perſon, having gotten a good oportunitie for his purpoſe (while nobody was left within the Kitchin) threwe the poyſon into a pail of yeſt, wherof potage was to be made for my lord to eate at dinner with others of his famelie, at his howſe in Lambeth marſh. But ſee the wondrous chaunce, or rather the great proviſion of almightye god, when his ſervant came to call him to his dynner it happened that the ſaid reuerend father, by ouerlonge fittinge and reading in his ſtudie that forenoone, more then his accuſtomed howre, to have no great ſtomacke to his dinner; And therefore answered *that* he would ſpare his dinner for that time till night, the lyke wherof it could not be remembred ²that he had at any time done before, willinge, neuertheles, that the howſhould ſervantes ſhould be ſett to dinner, who eating of the poyſoned grewell were ſo pitifully infected therwith, that the moſt part of them neuer recovered their health to their dying daie, and two dyed forthwith, the one a gentle-

¹ Fol. 57, back.

² Fol. 58.

man called *Maister* Bennett Curwen, and the other an ould widow, and so he was deliuered of that daunger, being reserved (as it may be thought) of god for a more pretious death. This wicked perfon that did the acte was named Richard Rose, who was after, for the same offence, boyled quicke in Smithfeilde in the xxijth yere of king Henries raigne. Shortly after this daungerous escape, there happened also vnto him an other great daunger at the same howse in Lambeth; for sodainly a gunne was shott through the topp of his howse, not far from his studie, where he accustomably vsed to sitt, which made such a horrible noyse over his head, and brused the tyles and rafters of the howse so fore, that both he and diuers others of his seruantes were sodenly amased therat; wherefore speedie serch was made whence this shott should come, and what it ment, which at last was found to come from the other side of the Thamese out of the Erle of Wilshirs howse, who was father to the ladie Ann. Then he ¹perceived that great malice was ment towards him, and callinge speedily certaine of his seruantes, said: "Let us trusse vp our geere and be gone from hence, for here is no place for vs to tarrie any longer." And so immediately departed to Rochester, where he remayned not longe quyet, before he heard of new trooble. What the occasion of this dealinge towards him was, or whether it were by the kings consent or no, I will not certainly affirme, but sure it is that the kinge at that time ought him his hartie displeasure, and spake such & so many daungerous words of him both at his table & elfwhere, that others hearing the same were the more imboldened to vse violence and iniurie towards him.

After he was departed from London & safely come to Rochester, in this great displeasure and daunger, he then fell to his ould trade of preaching to his flocke & visiting of sicke persons, besides an infinite number of other deeds of mercy: and at that time also he bestowed great cost vpon the reparacion of the bridge of Rochester. But over and above all this, he bestowed no small labour and paine in repressing of heresies, which by this time were verie much increased and far spread in this Realme. And although by his continewall travell he brought many heretickes into the waie againe, that before were

¹ Fol. 58, back.

farr ftraid and gone from the truth; yet among other hereticks ¹his most labour was with one John frith, a verie obstinate & itubborne wretch, whom he could never reclaime nor bring to any conformitie, and therfore was iustly by order of lawe condemned, and after burned in Smithfeild.

And although by meanes of this great displeasure of the king and many of his nobillitie, he stood in great daunger of his lyfe (as before is mentioned); yet confidering the quarrell he had taken in hand, he never seemed to be one whit difmaid therat, nether yet to be moved for any worldly trooble that could happen vnto him: wherof although I could recite you many examples, yet for this time this one may suffice. On a night, as he lay at his Mannour howse of Hallinge neere Rochester, a companie of theeves brake previly in the night time into his howse, and robbed him of all his plate; which being in the morning perceived and knowne to his officers and servantes, they were much vexed and forie through the mischaunce, wherfore pursuite was speedily made after the theeves, and such dilligence was vsed that, before my lord knew any thinge therof, some part of the plate was found againe in a wood ioyninge to the howse where the theeves had passed, which through haft in flyinge they scattered behind them, and durst no more returne for it. When dinner time was come my lord ²perceived vnquietnes and heavines amonge his servantes more than was wont to be, for no man durst open vnto him *the* cause, thinking he would have taken it so ill; at last, my lord mistrustinge more and more by their countenaunces of some great harme, he asked one of them what this matter ment; but his servant for feare durst not open vnto him the mischaunce. "No" (said my lord), "I meane not to dine this daie before I know what it is." "Then" (said he), "This night a certaine number of theeves have robbed you of *your* plate, which is all lost and gone, saving a litle quantitie that was recovered in a wood by following them, and that," said he, "was brought backe againe." "Is this all?" (said my lord); "then let vs goe to dinner and be merrie, and thanke god for that we have still remayninge, and looke better to yt then we did to the rest before," and so eate his dinner verie merrily and quietly.

¹ Fol. 59,

² Fol. 59, back,

The king remayning ftill greevously offended with the whole Clergie of England for the ill fucceffe of *the* great matter of Divorce, held his perleament at *Westminster*; begining after diuers prorogacions the xvjth day of Januarie in the xxijth yere of his raigne, and the year of our lorde god 1530, at which time the Clergie of the Province of Canterburie (according to their auncient custome) fommoned a Convocacion at *Westminster*. In this ¹parlement diuers things were bouldly propofed and ftowtly vrged againft the Clergie; and amonge other matters it was there declared what great charges the king had wrongfully bene at (as it was tearmed) about his matter of divorce in fuite to the Court of Roome, and obtayning of fundrie Inftumentes of forraine vniverfities, and draughtes of many learned mens opinions, amounting, as it was declared, to the fomme of one hundred thowfand pounds and more; the cheef and only caufe wherof was (as they faid) *the* falshood and diffimulacion of the Cardinall, and certaine others of the cheef of the Clergie; in confideracion wherof it was there demaunded to be paid amonge them.

In this matter as there wanted no Orators of the kings faction to preferre his purpofe, fo *the* orators wanted no wordes to debate and fett it forward to the moft, and on the contrarie part, nothing might be heard, or fcant any man durft whifper or open his mouth. But yet amonge the Convocacion there wanted not fome that fpake ftoutly againft the kings vnreafonable demaund, Amonge which this holy man was cheef, fayinge, *that* yt was not there falte that the king had bene at all this charge; nether was there any iuft caufe whie he fhould have fpent any one penny about this ²bufinefs, and therefore except fome other allegacion might be made then they yet heard of, it was flatly denyed to give him any thinge at all.

Then the kinge growinge more furious fought an other waie, and fo by proceffe bringinge the whole Clergie into the kings bench, fewed *the* Cardinall and them in a preminire for acknowledginge the authoritie and power Legantive of the faid Cardinall Wolfey; wherein with fmall difficulte he condemned them in fhort fpace, determininge then fully with himfelf, not only to imprifon fuch and fo many of them as him felf lyked, but alfo to enter vpon there

¹ Fol. 60.² Fol. 60, back.

whole possessions and goodes. And here I think it not amisse to declare vnto you what I have heard of the occasion and cause of this condemnation in the *preminire*.

This Realme of Englande hath of longe time challenged (by what meanes I knowe not) a priueledge graunted (as is said) from the See of Rome, that no legat de latere should enter the Realme excepte the kinge had first sent to Rome for him; wherefore Cardinall Wolsey, eyther ignorant, forgetfull, or els making but small accounte, being ¹a man wounderfull ambitious and aspiring to honour, and in such favour and credit then with the kinge that he durst attempt what him lyfted, made such meanes to the See Apostolick, that he obtayned power legantive from the Pope that then was, and exercised *the* same a certaine space without the kings consent or knowledge; But yet at last remembringe what he had done, and wayinge the daunger that depended therevpon, whilest he more diligently marked the sequell therof, in case the state of things subiect to the course of fortune should change as many times yt happeneth; he wrought so with the kinge that he obtayned his warrant, confirmed vnder the great seale of England, as well for that which was past as for the rest to come. Afterward when the king, mistrusting the Cardinalls dealinge in his great and waightie matter of divorce, began to turne his accustomed love into extreame hatred; for the more easie practisinge therof he vsed *the* helpe of *Maister* Cromwell then his servant, and in great trust with him, to gett from the Cardinall the foresaid warrant, which, lyke an vnfaithfull and trayterous servant, the said Cromwell stole from his *Maister* and deliuered to *the* kinge, who straight waies vpon yt charged the Cardinall with ²a *premunire* vpon a statute of Richard the second, comprising not only the Cardinall within the compasse of that statute for exercisinge such power legantive, but also the rest of the Clergie of the Realme for accepting and acknowledging the same. But *the* Clergie, not willing to abyde the daunger of the kings cruell displeasure (yf by any meanes they might avoid it) graunted vnto him 100,000^{li} by perswasion of *the* kings Counsell, and therevpon desired pardon for the rest of their goods, which at last with much adoee was promised vnto

¹ Fol. 61.

² Fol. 61, back.

them all, certaine persons excepted; but yet it was not accomplished ouer hastily, for before the full performance therof, a new & ftraunge demaund was made to the Clergie in their convocacion, such a one as hath not in any *Chrift*en Princes daies bene heard of before; and that was that they fould acknowledge the kinge to be their fupreme head. This request, although it was verie monstrous and rare, yet notwithstanding the matter was fore vrged, and the kings Orators omitted noe time nor occasion that might helpe forward their purpose, fomtime by fair wordes, and fometimes by hard and cruell threatnings: Amonge which *Maiſter* Thomas Audley was a great doer, who, after such time as blessed Sir Thomas More gave over the office of Lord chancellor, fucceeded him in that place.

¹ When this matter was come to scanning in the Convocacion howfe, great hould and ftirr was made about it; for amonge them there wanted not fome that ftood readie to fet forward the kings purpose, and for feare of them many others durft not fpeake their mindes freely. But when this holy father fawe what was towardses, and how readie fome of their owne companie were to helpe forward the kings purpose, he opened before *the* bifhops such and fo many inconveniences by grauntinge to this demaund, that in Conclufion all was reiected and the kings intent cleane ouerthrowne for that time.

Then the kinge hearing what was done, and perceiving that the whole convocacion reſted vpon this worthie bifhop, he wrought by fundrie meanes to bringe the matter about; and yet doubting that with overmuch haft and vigor at the begininge he might eaſily at the firſt ouerthrowe all his intent, he ſent his Orators at another time to the Convocacion howfe, who in their owne names moved the Clergie to haue good confideracion of this gentle and reaſonable demaund; putting them in mind what daunger and perill they ſtood in at this preſent againſt his *maieſtie* for their late contempt in acceptinge the Legantive power of the Cardinall, wherby they had alſo deeply incurred the daunger of the lawe, that their lande and goods were wholly at his highnes will and pleaſure, which, not withſtanding, he hath hitherto ²forborne to execute vpon hope of their good wills and conformities to be ſhewed to him againe in this matter.

¹ Fol. 62.

² Fol. 62, back.

Then the king fent for diuers of the bifhopps, and certaine others of the cheef Convocation to come to him, at his pallace of Westminster, to whom he proponed with gentle wordes his request and demaund, promising them in the word of a kinge, that yf they would amonge them acknowledge and confesse him for supreme head of the Church of England, he would never by vertue of that graunt assume vnto himself any more power, iurisdiction, or authoritie over them then all other the kings of the Realme of his predecessors had done before, nether would take vpon him to make or promulge any spirituall lawe, or exercise any spirituall iurisdiction, nor yet by any kind of meanes intermeddle himself amonge them in altering, changinge, ordering, or judginge of any spirituall busines. "Therefore, having made you" (said he) "this franke promise, I doe expect that you should deale as frankly with me againe, wherby agreement may the better continew between vs." And so the Bishops departed with heaue harts to talke further of this matter in ¹the Convocation amonge themselves. But still it sticke fore amonge them vpon certaine inconueniences before shewed by my lord of Rochester who neuer spared to open and declare his mind freely in defence of the Church, which many others durst not so frankly doe for feare of the kings displeasure, although they were for the most part men of deep wisdom and profound learninge.

Then came the kings Counsellors againe from the kinge to knowe howe the matter spedd, seeming as though they had not knowne what was said before in the Convocation howe before their cominge. So hotely they followed this matter, once begun for many causes, the king having in deed a further secret meaninge then was commonly knowne to many, which in fewe yeres brake out, to the confusion of the whole clergie and temperaltie both. These counsellors there repeated vnto the Convocation the kings wordes, which he himself had spoken to some of them, saying further, that if any man would stick now against his maiestie in this pointe it must needes declare a great mistrustfulnes they had in his highnes wordes, seeing he had made so solemne and high an oath. With this subtil and false perswasion ²the Clergie began somewhat to thinke, and for

¹ Fol. 63.² Fol. 63, back.

the most part to yelde to the kings request, savinge this holy bifhop, who vtterly refused to condescend thervnto, and therfore earnestly required the lordes, and others of the Convocation to consider and take good heed what mischeifs and inconveniences would ensue to the whole church of *Christ*, by this vnreasonable and vnseemly graunt made to a temporall prince, which neuer yet to this daie was once so much as once demaunded before, neither can yt by any meanes or reason, be in the power or rule of any temporall potentate. "And therefore" (said he) "yf ye graunt to the kings vaine request in this matter, it seemeth to me to pretend an imminent and present daunger at hand: for what yf he should shortly after chaunge his mind and exercise in deed the Supremacie over the church of this realme? or what yf he should die, and then his successor challenge the continuance of *the* same? or what yf the crowne of this realme should in time fall to an infant or a woman that shall still continewe and take the same name vpon them? What shall we then doe? whom shall we serue vnto? or where shall we have remedie?" The kings Counsellors to that replied & said, that the kinge had no such meaninge as he doubted,¹ and then alleadged againe his royall protestacion & oath made in the word of a kinge. "And further" (said they) "though the Supremacie were graunted to his *Maies*tie simply & absolutely accordinge to his demaund, yet it must needes be vnderstoode and taken, that he can have no further power or authoritie by it then quantum per legem dei licet, and then yf a temporall Prince can have no such authoritie and powre by gods law (as his *Lordship* (?) had there declared), what needeth *the* forecasting of all these doubtess?" Then at last the Counsellors fell into disputacion amonge the Bishoppes, of a temporall princes authoritie ouer the Clergie, but therto my lord of Rochester answered them so fullie, that they had no liste to deale that waie any further, for they were in deed but simple smatterers in Divinitie to speake before such a Divine as he was. And so they departed in great anger, showing themselves openly in their owne lykenes, and saying that whosoever would refuse to condescend to the kings demand herin, was not worthie to be accounted a true and lovinge subiect.

¹ Fol. 64.

The Lords and other of the Convocation seeing this kind of threatening persuasion, besides many other false practices, and fearing the report of the Counsellors to be made to the King (whom they knew & perceived to be all cruelly bent against the Clergie) grew at last to a conclusion, and so after sundrie daies argument in great striving and contention agreed in manner fully and wholly amonge them to condiscend to the kinges demand. That he should be supreme head of the church of England, and to credit his princely word so faithfully, and solemnly promised unto them.

My lord of Rochester perceiving this soden & hastie graunt only made for feare, and not vpon any iust ground, stood vp againe all angrie, and rebuked them for *their* pusillanimity in beinge so lightly chaunged and easilly perswaded. And beinge verie loath that any such graunt should passe from the Clergie thus absolutely, and yet by no meanes able to staie it for the feare that was amonge them, He then advised the Convocation, that seeinge the kinge, both by his owne mouth, and also by the sundrie speeches of his Orators, had faithfully promised, and solemnly sworne in the high worde of a kinge; That his meaninge was to require no further then quantum per legem dei licet, and that by vertue therof his purpose was not to intermeddle with any spirituall lawes, spirituall iurisdiction or government, more then all other his predecessors had alwaies done before: yf it so be that you are fully determined to graunt him his demand (which I rather wish you to denie then graunt) yet for a more trewe and plaine exposition² of *your* meaninge³ towardes the kinge and all his posteritie, let these condicionall wordes be expressed in *your* graunt, quantum per legem dei licet, which is no otherwise (as the kinge and his counsellors say) then themselves meane. But then the Counsellors (who by that time were returned to the Convocation howse for speed of their busines) hearing of my lord of Rochesters words, cryed vpon them with open and continuall clamour to have the grant passe absolutely, and to credit the kings honor in givinge them so solemne a protestacion and oathe. But after this time nothinge could prevaile: for then the Clergie answered with their full

¹ Fol. 64, back.

² *Expression* written under exposition.

³ Fol. 65.

refolucion, that they nether could nor would graunt this title and dignitie of Supremacie without thefe conditionall wordes, quantum per legem dei licet. And fo the Orators departed, makinge to the kinge relation of all that was done, who, feeinge no other remedie, was of neceffitie driven to accept it in this conditionall fort, and then graunted to the Clergie pardon for their bodies and goods, fo that they should paie him an hundred thoufand pounds, which was paid to the laft penny.

But this refted not longe after this forte, for the Kinge within few yeres after tooke vpon him and exercifed the Supremacie of the Church of England contrarie to his promiffe, as this holy man doubted and forefawe. And in a Parliament holden at *Wef'tminfter* the xxvjth yere of his raigne (when the good father was in prifon ¹ within the towre of London), he made an Act of Parliament by authoritie of his laye people, wherin he was confirmed Supream head of the Church of England, without any further exception or Condition at all, framing nevertheles the wordes of that Act in fuch fort, as though the Clergie in their Convocacion had abfolutely recognized him for fupream head before, and after caufed the fame to be annexed to his ftile as a tytle of his dignitie royall, appointinge to all fuch as fhould by any meanes withftand or gainfaie the fame, noe leffe punifhment then is dew in Cafes of high treafon, were they fpirituell or temporall, which his fucceffors hath fince that time practifed as by experience we maie fee : And yet to that acte and many other licentious and feismatticall doinges of the kinge, all the Bifhoppes afterward agreed, only this holy bifhopp excepted.

About this time (which was in the xxiiijth yere of the kings raigne) this good father happened to fall into great trooble, which the king fought him by fundrie meanes. The manner of which trooble was thus. When by publicke fame the kinges intent was knowne abroade that he ment to feperat from him ² the good queene Catherine, his moft lawfull wife, and many an other, the Realme began as it were to devide, and much talke was vfed herin, fome in favour of the kinge, and fome of the queen. But the farr greater number afwell of the learned fort as of the vulgar people ftucke

¹ Fol. 65, back.

² Fol. 66.

rather to the queenes part then to the kings. At the same time one Elizabeth Barton, a yonge maiden borne in Kent, at a place called Court at Street, declared vnto fundrie persons that many times she had certaine visions revealed vnto her touching the kings doings in his matter of Divorce: by what meanes she could not tell, but (as she thought) they came from god. Wherin for mine owne part I will not for certaine affirme anythinge, ether with her or against her, because I have heard her diuerfly reported of, and that of persons of right good fame & estimation. But true it is that diuers times being in her traunce (wherin she happened to fall verie often), she vttered such wordes touching the reproovinge of heresies which then began fast to spreade, declaring what mischeef and calamitie would infewe to this realme, by admittingte the same, that it was thought wonderfull to be heard at the mouth of a simple woman. She would saie that it was shewed vnto her in her vision, that the king had an ill intent & purpose in him, and specially in that he minded to separate himself and the good queen Catherin his wife a funder, and minded for his voluptuous and carnall¹ appetite to marrie an other, which by no meanes he could doe without the great displeasure of Almightye God, for it was directly against his holy lawes. And this matter she opened on a time to Maister Richard Maister, Parson of Aldington in Kent, and then her ghostlye father, saying vnto him further, that by her revelation she perceaved that yf the kinge desisted not from his purpose in this great case of Divorce, but would needes prosecute the same and marry againe, that then after such marriage he should not longe be kinge of this Realme, and in reputation of god, he should not be kinge therof one daie nor one howre after, and that he should die a shamefull and miserable death. Likewise she said and affirmed that the good vertuous queen Catherin was the kings lawfull wife, and that he could not lawfully marrie any other; but whether he did marrie any or not, yet should the ladie Marie, the daughter of the said good queen, prosper and raigne in the Realme, and have many frendes to establish and maintaine her.

Thefe and diuers such lyke matters beinge opened to the said Parson of Aldington, he gave her advise to goe to Canterburie, and

¹ Fol. 66, back.

there to talke with *Maister* Edward Borkinge, doctor of Divinitie, and a Mounke of *Chriftes* church, becaufe he was of all ¹men reputed for a learned and vertuous man; from him ſhe went to *Maister* John Deringe, an other mounke of *the* ſame houſe. Theſe good fathers, beinge marvelouſly aſtonied at her ſtrange ſpeeches, opened the ſame to the moſt reuerend father in god, William Warham, Archbiſhopp of Canterbury, who immediatly after the begininge of this buſines departed this lyfe. At length her name ſpredd ſo wide, that ſhe was much reſorted vnto of manie people, and for her vertuous and aſtore life was commonly called the holy maid of Kente. And ſhortly after, by the adviſe of the reuerend Doctor Borkinge, ſhe was profeſſed a Nunn in the Priorie of *Saint* Sepulcher, in Canterburie, where ſhe continuwed duringe the time of her life in great pennance and puniſhment of her ſelf. And beinge there a Nunn profeſſed, ſhe after declared much of this matter to one *Maister* Henrie Gould, a learned man and batchelor in divinitye, and to father Hugh Rich, Warden of the Fryers obſervantes in Canterburie, and Richard Riſbe an other of the brothers of the ſame howſe: All which before mentioned perſons greatly ſett forth the name of the ſaid Elizabeth in their ſermons and preachings to the people, ſo that ſhe became famous almoſt throughout all the Realme. Then afterwards the foreſaid Nunn, as well as ſome other of the religious men before named, came to this moſt reuerend biſhopp of Rocheſter, and Doctor John Adeſon his Chaplin, ²and lykewiſe to doctor Thomas Abell, ſomtimes the queenes Chaplin, makinge them privie to the wounderfull and ſtrange revelacions and ſpeeches of this Nunn; from thence ſhe went (by the counſell of Doctor Borking and the parſon of Adlington) to the Charterhowſe of London and Sheene, to the Nunnerye of Sion, and to the freere howſes of Ritchmount, Canterburie, and Greenwich, declaring to them in lyke fort as ſhe had done before to others, & laſtly to the kinge himſelfe, then lying at Hanworth, before whom kneelinge, ſhe opened all her minde as freely as ſhe was able to vtter it, deſiring him therfore in gods name, aſwell for *the* ſafetie of his owne ſoul, as for preſervacion of this moſt noble realme, to take good heed what he did, and to proceed no further in this buſines. The

¹ Fol. 67.² Fol. 67, back.

kinge all the while gave her quyett hearinge, feeminge to all men that were there present, not only content with the wordes, but also much difmayde to heare them at the mowth of fo simple a woman, and fo difmiffed her peaceable for *that* time to her howfe at Canterburie, where fhe remained not longe quiet after. for now the kinge, perceivinge *that* his doings were openly knowne to the worlde, and finding withall that the greateft part of his Realme lyked not therof (within fhort time was lyke by fuch means as this to bringe fome inconvenience and daunger towards him yf the fame were not prevented in convenient time) ¹he fell therfore in confultacion with his flatteringe Counfell what were beft to doe in this matter, whom he founde devided amonge themfelves, fome thinkinge good that it fhould be handled with clemencie and pittie, and fome, on the contrarie part, with all rigor and crueltie, for an example to others. But in the end it was refolved that pittie fhould be fett a fide, and feveritie take place, and fo all was turned to this: That it was but only a trayterous confpiracie between *the* Nunn and all the fore-named fathers and other perfons to bringe the kinge and his government into a miflykinge and hatred of the people of his realme, and to raife a grudge between him & them, wherby they might the better be incouraged to make a tumult and commotion againft him. Wherefore the kinge, havinge now gotten (as he thought) a good and fufficient matter of treafon againft this good Bifhop (whom he fpecially fought and fhott at before all others), becaufe he was privie to the caufe amonge them; he fent for his Iudges, and certaine other lawiers, and before them caufed the Cafe to be proponed, defiring of them to knowe the lawe in that point, and how they might all be brought in the Cafe of high treafon. The lawiers, fitting long in confultacion of this matter, and yet knowing in manner the kings minde aforehand, fell at laft to a refolution, and concluded: That the faid Elizabeth Barton *the* Nunn, Edward Borkinge and John Deringe, monkes; Richard² maifter and Henrie Golde, preiftes, Hugh Riche and Richard Rifbe, freers minors, were all by *the* law in Cafe of high treafon. But my lord of Rochefter, with Doctor Adefon his Chaplen, and Doctor Abell, with certaine other perfons, becaufe they were not

¹ Fol. 68.² Fol. 68, back.

the first contrivers of the matter, but only heard it reported by them, and concealed it, were by the said Judges deemed to be in the Case of misprison of treason: which is *the* losse of their goods, and imprisonment of their bodies duringe the kings pleasure.

The Kinge not havinge herin his intended desire, because he rather shott at the life of this good man then his goods, was faine yet to content himselfe therewith for that time, and so shortly after the poore Nunne, with all other the religious persons and preistes before mentioned, were attached and brought vp to Lambeth before the newe bishop of Canterburie, doctor Cranmer, where by him and certaine other Commissioners appointed for that purpose, they were verie strictly examined and charged with all the terror that might be, How they most traiterously, with false fained hipocrisie and dissembled sanctity, had conspired against the kinge in movinge & exciting displeasure and grudge between him and his people, to the intent to raise a Commotion in this Realme, to *the* ¹great daunger of his person, and subuersion of *the* whole realme, and so finally were all sent to the Towre of London, where they lay longe after in much miserie, till such time as by sharpe and cruell death they ended their daies, for in a Parleament holden at Westminster the xxvth yere of the kings raigne, begininge (after diuers prorogacions) the xvth day of Januarie, they were all attainted of high treason, and in Aprill next followinge, the fillie Nunn was hanged and headed at Tyborne, and the rest were also the same daie hanged, and after quartered alive. And for asmuch as my lord of Rochester, Doctor John Adefon, his Chaplen, Doctor Thomas Abell, Thomas Lawrence, Register to the Archdeacon of Canterburie, & Edward Thwaytes, gentleman, did not only know of the foresaid offence, but also gave credence to the offenders, wherby the said offenders tooke corrage in their doinges, were all convicted of misprison of treason, to suffer imprisonment during the kings pleasure, and to forfeit vnto him all *their* goods, chattells, and debts. But yet for all this tirrible sentence geven vpon this good bishop, nether was he imprisoned ne yet dispoyled of his goodes for *that* time, although (as I heard after) he was faine to redeeme himself with payment of three hundred

¹ Fol. 69.

poundes for a fine, which was one whole yeres revennewe of the bifhoprick, for the king (as before is faid) ment not to spoile his goods, which he knew to be but of small valew, but rather thirfted after his life, knowinge him to be (as he was indeed) a greate stop & hinderer of all his licentious proceedings, for *that* he bare so great a fway in *the* convocacion howfe as he did.

¹You have heard before how Cardinall Campegius departed out of this realme to the Popes Holyneffe, after fuch time as the queene had made her appeale to the Sea Apostolicke, who, beinge long before this time arived at Rome, made there, to the Popes Holyneffe a declaration of all his proceedings. Shortly after whose departure, the kinge fent to the Pope Doctor Bonner and Doctor Keane, both Doctors of the Civill lawe and profound men, to treat with him of this matter as of them felves and not fent from him, who, according to their fecret commiffion geven them, dealt verie largely in the kings behalf, fignifyinge vnto *the* Pope that all the Bifhoppes and Clergie of England were fully agreed, and thought the maryage between the kinge and the queen to be vnlawfull from the begininge, and that it was therfore verie neceffarie to make a feparation between them by a fentence definitive from his Holines. The Pope, perceivinge neuertheles that they came without authoritie or Commiffion, demaunded of them a certificat vnder the Bifhops hande, and feales of this they had faid. Then the kinge labored ernestly for this certificat, which by one meanes or other was at laft gotten out vnder all their handes and feales, favinge my lord of Rochefter, who by no meanes would euer agree to yt. At length the Certificat was fent to thefe counterfett Ambaffadors, who prefented the fame ²to the Pope. But when he perceaved this good bifhops hand and feale wantinge amonge the reft, and vnderftood alfo that it was gotten of the other bifhops rather by flaightie devifes and Compulfion then by any direct or orderlie meanes, the Infrument was clean reiected, and reputed to noe purpofe.

Then the Pope (becaufe he confidered the cafe to be great and waightie) would in no wife proceed any further without great and fubftantiall advife, and for that purpofe called vnto him the moft

¹ Fol. 69, back.

² Fol. 70.

worthie Divines and Canonistes that could be gotten. Then he consulted with all the vniuersities, that at that time were ether famous or willing to be talked with. Lykewife he procured the sensures of manie famous men, set forth in their fenerall writings, amonge which one was the booke of this most worthie and learned Bishopp of Rochester, wherof some mention is before made: which booke, by the opinion and iudgment of that reuerend and famous Clerke, Alphonfus de Castro, a spanish freer of the order of minors, is (as himself writeth) of all other the most excellent and learned worke. The Pope (I saie), after so longe and dilligent^e examinacion in this great matrimoniall cause, settinge in his Tribunall seat & open Consistorie, with *the* assent and counsell of his most reuerend bretheren, the Cardinalls of the holy Church of Rome, pronounced a ¹sentence definitive, approvinge therin the foresaid matrimonie to be good and lawfull. And becaufe this sentence is perhaps vnknowne vnto many, and specially of the countrey of England, that other have not heard, or rather will not willingly heare therof, I have thought good to insert the same in this our Hy storie word for word as it was pronounced. Let vs then heare what the Pope himself faith.

Clemens papa septimus.

Christi nomine invocato in throno iusticie pro tribunali sedentes et solū deum præ oculis habentes per hanc *nostram* definitivam sententiam, quam de venerabilium fratrum *nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium* consistorialiter coram nobis congregatorum consilio et assensu firmitus in his scriptis pronuntiamus decernimus et declaramus, in causa et causis ad nos et sedem *apostolicam* per *appellacionem* per charissimam in Christo filiam Catherinam Angliæ reginam illustrem a *nostris* et sedis *apostolicæ* legatis in regno Angliæ deputatis interpositam legitime deuolutis et aduocatis, inter prædictam Catherinam Reginam, et charissimum in Christo filium Henricum octavum Angliæ regem illustrem, super validitate et invaliditate matrimonij inter eosdem reges contracti et consummati, rebusque alijs in actis causæ et causarum *hujusmodi* latius deductis et dilecto filio Paulo Capissucho causarum faceri Pallatij tunc Decano, et ²propter ipsius Pauli

¹ Fol. 70, back.

² Fol. 71.

absentiam, venerabili fratri nostro Jacobo Simonetæ Episcopo Pisauriensi vnus ex dicti pallatij auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendis, instruendis, et in Consistorio nostro referendis commissis, et per eos nobis et eisdem Cardinalibus relatis et mature discussis, coram nobis pendentibus matrimonium inter prædictos Catherinam et Henricum Angliæ reges contractum, et inde sequuta quæcunque fuisse validum et canonicum, validaque et canonica, suosque debitos debuisse et debere fortiri effectus: Prolemque exinde susceptam vel suscipiendam fuisse et fore legitimam. Et præfatum Henricum Angliæ regem, teneri et obligatum fuisse et fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina Regina eius legitima coniuge, illamque maritali affectione et regis honore tractandum. Et eundem Henricum Angliæ regem ad præmissa omnia et singula cum effectu adimplendum, condemnandum omnibusque iuris remedijs cogendum et compellendum fore; Provt condemnamus cogimus et compellimus: molestationesque et denegationes per eundem Henricum Regem eidem Catherinæ Reginæ super invaliditate et fædere dicti matrimonij quomodo libet factas, fuisse et esse illicitas et iniustas. Et eidem Henrico regi super illas et validitatem matrimonij huiusmodi perpetuum silentium imponendum fore, et imponimus Eundemque Henricum Angliæ regem in expensis in huiusmodi causa & parte dictæ Catherinæ Reginæ coram nobis et dictis omnibus legitime factis condemnandum fore, et condemnamus. Quarum expensarum taxationem nobis in posterum reservamus. Ita pronuntiamus.

Lata fuit Romæ in Pallatio apostolico publice in Consistorio die 23 Martij anno 1534.

¹*Pope Clement the vij^t.*

We invocatinge the name of Christ and fittinge iudiciously in throwne of iustice, havinge only before our eyes the glorie of Almightye God, by this our definitive sentence, which by the Counsell and assent of our venerable Bretheren the Cardinalls of the holy Church of Rome assembled before vs in Consistorie. We do in these wrytings geve, pronounce, decree, and declare in the cause and causes lawfully devolved and advocated to vs and the Sea apostolicke, by appellacion brought before vs by our welbeloved daughter in Christ, Catherin queene of England, from the Iudgmentes of the legates

¹ Fol. 71, back.

deputed and sent from vs and the foresaid Sea Apostolicke, between the foresaid queene Catherin and our welbeloved Sonne in Christ, Henry the viijth, the noble king of England, vpon the validitie and invaliditie of *the* matrimony between them contracted and consummated, and vpon other matters more largely deduced in the actes of such lyke cause and causes, and committed to our sonne Paulus Capisuchus, then deane of the Causes of our holy pallace, and in his absence to our reuerend brother James Simoneta, Bishopp of Pisawria, supplyinge the place of one of the Auditors of our said Pallace, to be heard instructed, and in our Consistorie to be reported and maturely discussed, during the time of the matter ¹dependinge before vs; that the matrimonie contracted betweene the said queen Catherin and kinge Henrie of England, with all other consequentes of the same, was and is of good force and canonicall; and that they may and ought to enioy to them their dewe effects, and that the yssue betweene them heretofore borne or hereafter to be borne was & shall be legitimate: And that the foresaid king Henrie hath, is, and shall be bound and obliged to cohabit & dwell with the said queene Catherin, his lawfull wife, and to intreat her with husbandly affection and kingly honor. And that the said kinge Henrie is condemned, and by all remedies of lawe is to be refrayned and compelled, as we do condemne, constrain, and compell him to accomplish & fulfill all and singuler the premisses effectually: And that *the* molestation and refusalls by the foresaid king Henry by any manner waies made to the said queene Catherin towchinge the invaliditie of the said matrimonie, are presently & alwaies from the beginninge were vnlawfull and vniust: And that perpetuall silence concerninge all the fore said matters and the invaliditie of the said matrimony shall be enioyned vnto the said Henrie. And we do enioyne yt. And that the said kinge Henrie of England is to be condemned, and we do condemne him in the expences lawfully made before vs and our said bretheren in such case on the behalf of the said queen Catherin: The taxation of which expences we reserve to our self till an other time.

So we have pronounced.

This was published in *the* pallace at Rome in the open Consistorie 23 martij Anno Domini 1534.

¹ Fol. 72.

¹ And thus after many trooblefome daies of fuite with great expenfes of money, ftrange devifes, and wonderfull practifes, ended this matrimoniall Cafe by this notable fentence pronounced and publifhed by *the* head Iudge vpon earth, to whom Chrift gave the full power and authoritie of himfelf to binde and to loofe; with *which* fentence and full determinacion it is to be wifhed that *the* Kinge would have fubmitted himfelf to this greate authoritie: which yf he had done no doubt but then had this noble Realme ftill continewed in that auncient florifhing fte of vertue, devotion, and welth wherein he found yt. Then had he preferved his owne honor and good fame, which he afterward moft worthily loft. Then had he not opened fuch a gapp to fcifmes and heresies as he did, to our vndoinge, and the manifft perdition of his owne foul. Then had the whole fte of *Chriftendome* ftand in much better fuertie then of longe time it hath and now of lykelyhood it doth. Then had he ftill abidden with this moft noble ladie, his lawfull wife. And then confequently had he not proceeded to this horrible fecond maryage as he did, contrarie to the found advife of this our bleffed father and of diuers others, wherof enfewed afwell the death of this holy byfhop, as of many other devout and reuerend Abbottes and Pryors, ²religious men and prieffts, befides a number of worthie perfons of the temporalitie; the lyke wherof it is to be thought, this Realme neuer had at one infant before his daies. But (alas) how farr was the kinge now chaunged from the man he was, then when by advife and helpe of this holy father he wrote his moft learned booke of the Affertion of the feaven Sacramentes againft Luther, and what an alteration of obedience to the Sea Apoftolicke was this in him, from *that* time in which he dedicated his faid booke to the Popes Holineffe, with thefe wordes: "*Itaque etiam hac fiducia rem tentavimus et qua in ea meditati fumus Sanctitati tua dedicaumus vt fub tuo nomine (qui Chrifti vicem in terris geris) publicum iudicium fubeant:*" And fo with this Confidence we have attempted this matter, and have dedicate to *your* Holynesse all our labour therin, to *the* intent *that* vnder *your* name (who vpon earth doth fupplie the place of *Chrift*) the fame may come to the publique iudgment of *the* worlde. Many other fuch lyke places are

¹ Fol. 72, back.² Fol. 73.

to be found in *that* worthie booke, who foeuer fhall well peruse and read the same.

But let vs further confider what moved this blessed man to stand in defence of this quarrell, and we shall soone perceiue that he had great cause to do as he did, for although he thought in his Conscience, and by his profound learninge most assuredly knewe, that the kinge for noe ¹cause yet alleadged, could by the law of god make any seaparacion between him and his wife, this noble Princeesse, yet had he a more secret intelligence of the kings doings, & further intent therein then at *that* time was knowne to many others; I meane of his proceedinge to a second marriage with *the* lady Ann Bullen, wherof although (for the great reuerence he bore to the kings person) he spared to speake openly that which he knew for trew, yet to some of his secret frendes (when it might serue to the purpose) he would not sticke to vtter, that the kinge could not by anie meanes proceed to such marriage without the ruine of his honor and good name, and the inestimable losse of his soul for euer. No, although the Pope shoulde pronounce the first maryage to be void & adnihilat, and that for fundrie causes; for first it was well knowne that even about such time as the king began to cast his carnall love to this ladie, Ann Bullen, the lord Henrie Percie, sonne and heire to *the* Erle of Northumberland, chanced also not longe before that time to fall in love with her; and therein at last proceeded so farre that they were assured before good witneses in the waie of maryage, he beinge then attendant vpon Cardinall Woolsey, and she wayting in the Court vpon this good queene Catherin (nether of them yet knowing *the* kings intent); ²but when knowledge therof came to the kings eares he waxed angrie, and was much moved against *the* lord Percie, infomuch as he sent in haist for the Cardinall to come to him on a time to Bridewell, and there opened vnto him all his intent and purpose, willinge him in any wise with all the speed that might be, to call before him the said lorde Percie, and to infringe his assurance by all the meanes he could devise. The Cardinall seeinge all this matter come to this effect was not a litle vnquyeted therat. Howbeit returninge home to his howse at Westminster, and not for-

¹ Fol. 73, back.

² Fol. 74.

gettinge the kings Commaundement, he called the lord Percie before him, and there in *prefence* of diuers of his *fervantes* demaunded of him with many *sharpe* wordes what he had done, and how farr he had proceeded in this matter. The lord Percie perceavinge this his doinge to be ill taken, and verie lykely to turne to his displeasure, answered vpon his knee with feare; That they were assured before witnesse. Then (said the Cardinall) hast thou done lyke a lewd boye, to attempt any such thinge without the knowledge other of the kings *Maiestie*, thy father, or me, and therefore I commaund thee that thou come no more in her companie vpon paine of the kings displeasure & mine, for by this meane thou hast gotten thee already his ill will; And I will also signifie vnto thy father thy bould and rash attempt, wherby it is lyke thou shalt be disinherited for ever. Then the lord Percie in most lamentable and pittifull manner said vnto the Cardinall (still kneelinge), "I most humblie desire *your* graces favour herin, and that you will stand so much my ¹good lord as to intreate the kings *Maiestie* for me, for truly I have now gone so farre in this matter, and that before many worthie witnesse that I know not how to discharge my conscience before god, nor yet excuse my self before men." "Whie" (said the Cardinall) "doest thou harpe still vpon that stringe? I thought thou wouldest have shewed thy self penitent for thy foolish doings, and here have promised to relinquish from henceforth any further attempt therin." "Truly" (said the lord Percie), "so will I with all my hart as much as in me lyeth, my conscience only reserved for my former promise." "Well" (said the Cardinall), "I will signifie so much to the kinge," and so departed. And this was one cause that made this reuerend man to mislike of this second marriage.

An other cause was for that there was a greates and constant fame how the king had before carnally knowne the ladie Anns mother, which in law forbiddeth all marriage of the children for ever after, because otherwise it might be dowbt that the kinge should marrye his owne daughter. And for some better probabilitie therof I have heard yt reported of diuers persons of good credit, that the Countesse of Wilshire her mother (as she happened on a time to talke with

¹ Fol. 74, back.

the kinge of this matter) fodenly said vnto him in the hearing of fundrie persons, half in sport and halfe in earnest, these wordes : " Sir, for *the* reuerence of god take heed what you doe in marying my daughter ; for yf you record your conscience well she is *your* owne daughter as well as mine."

¹Lykewife it was verie evident to many *that* were about the kinge, that he commonly knewe not only this ladie, Ann Bullen, before he marryed her, but also longe before that he knew in lyke manner the ladie Marie Carie, her sifter. And these were causes whie this good man thought *that* the king could not by any meanes lawfully proceed to this maryage ; no, although his first marryage had bene void and adnihilat, or though this good queen had bene dead, and the kinge free to marrie.

Other causes there were though not of so great importance as these be, yet verie iust & probable why the kinge with his honor and safetie of his realme could not well proceed therunto. For first there went a great rumour of her incontinenie and loose lyvinge, & what inconveniences have growne in many *Christian* realmes by doubtful succeffion of Bastardie ; there needeth here noe example to be rehearsed, beinge a case so well knowne to the worlde as it is ; and of this it should seeme there was a shrewd lykelyhood when Sir Thomas Wyatt (after he vnderstood of the kings intended purpose to marrie with her) came to the kinge and declared vnto him the truth of that he knewe, doubtinge in deed *that the* same comming els to his knowledge by some other meane might kindle displeasure secretly in his brest against him, and so at one time or other breake out to his confusion.

Wherefore comminge (I saie) to *the* kinge he told him plainly ²that she was no fitt wife for his maiestie, confessinge there almost in plaine wordes, with great feare, that himself had bene famillier with her. Lykewife she was greatly suspected, and in manner notoriously knowne of diuers persons to be an heretick, and thereby verie lykely to corrupt the kinge, being so extreamely blinded with their vnlawfull doctrine as she was, which after came to passe in deed : for she was the first and only person that of a longe time durst breake with him

¹ Fol. 75.

² Fol. 75, back.

in such matters. The effect and fruite wherof the world feeth, and this miserable countrey more and more feeleth to our vndoinge.

Now approched the time wherin this blessed man grew to his finall and laft trooble : for at the Parlement before mentioned, wherin he was attainted of misprifion of treason for the matter of the nunn of Canterburie, there was also in the same Parliament an other statute made, declaringe the establisment of the kings succession in the imperiall Crowne of this realme ; by vertue wherof it was enacted, that the said mariage heretofore solemnized betweene the kinge and the ladie Catherin, beinge before his older brothers wife, and by him ¹ carnally knowne (as the Acte reporteth) should be by the authorite of that Parliament, definitively, cleerly, and absolutely declared, deemed, and iudged to be against the laws of Almightye god : and also excepted, reputed, and taken of noe valewe or effect, but vtterlie void to all intentes and purpofes, accordinge to sentence made at Donstable by Thomas Cranmer, Archbifhop of Canterburie. And that the matrimonie had and solemnized betweene the kinge and queene Ann should be establisshed and taken for vndoubtfull, trew, sincere, and perfect, accordinge to the iudgment of the said Archbifhopp. And that the yssue comminge of that mariage should be inheritable to the Crowne and gouernment of the Realme. By meane wherof the ladie Marie, being yssue of his former marriage, was difherited and disabled to all intentes and purpofes. And yf any perfon, of what eftate or condition foeuer he be, fhall by wrytinge, printing, or any exterior Acte or deed procure or doe any thinge, to the preiudice, flaunder, disturbance, or derogation of the said matrimony, or the yssue growing of the same, that euerie such perfon should be deemed and iudged as a high Traytor, and should suffer such paines and losses as in Cafe of high treason is provided. And further, yf any perfon should, by word or speech only, without wrytinge or doinge, vtter or publish any thinge in derogacion ² of this matrimonie, that euerie such offence should be taken and adiudged for misprifion of high treason, and the offenders to suffer imprifonment during the kings pleasure, and to loofe to him all their goods, chattells, and debts. And that for offendinge in any of these treasons or misprifions, no priueledge nor

¹ Fol. 76.

² Fol. 76, back.

immunitie of Sanctuarie within this Realme should serue. Certaine other things there be also contained within *the* same Acte, as by readinge of the same statute may appeare more at large. But, lastly, it is concluded that for the better and more sure keepinge & observing of this Acte, aswell the nobles of this realme, spirituall and temporall, as all other subiectes of *the* same, shall make a corporall oath, That they shall truly and constantly observe, defend, and keepe to the vttermoſt of their cunninge, will, and powre the whole effect and contentes of this Statute. The wordes of which oath (although they be not expreſſed at large in the Statute) were theſe: Ye ſhall ſweare to beare faith, truth, and obedience all only to the kings *maieſtie*, and to his heires of his bodie of his moſt deere and intirely beloved lawfull wife, queen Ann, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heires of our ſoueraigne lord according to *the* limitation ¹in the Statute, made for ſuertie of his ſucceſſion in the crowne of this Realme mentioned and containyd, and not to any other within this realme, noe forraine authoritie or Potentate. And in Caſe any oath be made or hath bene made by you to any perſon or perſons, that then ye to repute the ſame as vaine and annihilat, and that to *your* cunninge, witt, and vttermoſt of *your* power, without guile, fraud, or other vndew meanes, ye ſhall observe, keepe, maintaine, and defend the ſaid Acte of Succeſſion, and all the whole effects and contents therof, and all other Actes and Statutes made in confirmacion and for execucion of the ſame, or of any thinge therein contained: and this ye ſhall doe againſt all manner of perſons of what eſtate, dignitie, degree, or condicion ſoeuer they be: and in no wiſe do or attempt, nor to *your* powre ſuffer to be done or attempted directly, any thinge or thinges prively or apertly, to the lett, hinderance, daunger, or derogation therof or of any part of the ſame, by any manner of meanes, or for any manner of pretence, ſo helpe you God and all Sainets, And the holy Evangelifte.

This oath, although it was not in theſe wordes expreſſed in the Statute (as is before ſaid), and therby not of any ſuch force that any man was compellable by vertue of that lawe to take yt, yet it ſo pleaſed ²the Kinge and his Counſellors of their owne authoritie to

¹ Fol. 77.

² Fol. 77, back.

have it framed, and lykewife tendred to all such as were called before the *Commissiioners* for that cause authorifed : and in the end of that feflion of *parliament* (which was the xxxth of March) it was offred to all the lordes of the higher howfe, both spirituall and temporall, and lykewife to the *Commons* in the lower howfe ; wherof moft of both howfes accepted it with heaue hartes (only my lord of Rochefter except), who openly refused to fweare it. Neuertheles he was winked at for that time, and nothing faid to him. And fo the *Parliament* beinge ended he departed home to his Pallace of Rochefter where he had not remayned above the fpace of four daies, but a letter came to him from the Archbifhop of Canterburie and certaine other *Commissiioners*, willinge him perfonally to appeare before them at Lambeth, in the faid Archbifhops howfe, by a certaine daie expreffed within that letter, all excufes fett apart. This letter beinge once knowne and heard of within his howfe, caft fuch a terror and feare amonge his fervantes, and after amonge other his frendes in the cuntry, that nothings was there to be heard of ¹but lamentacion and mourninge on all fides : Howbeit the holy man, nothinge at all difmaid therat (as a thing *that* he daily and howly looked for before), called all his familie before him, and willed them to be of good cheere, and to take noe care for him, fayinge that he nothinge doubted but all this fhould be to the glorie of God, and his owne quietneffe. “And for that” (faid he), “I beinge once gone, you may doubte of the time of my retorne hither to you againe, I have willed my Steward to confider euerie of you with a portion of my goodes as far as they extend, defiringe god to fend both you and me his grace ;” and fo turninge his backe left them all weeping, and went about other bufinefs. And callinge his officers to him to confult for the difpofition of his goods, he firft allotted to Michaell howfe in Cambrige (where he was brought vp at learninge) a hundred pounds, which was after paid to the howfe in goulde. An other portion he caufed to be devided amonge his fervantes, allowinge euerie one of them a rate according to his place and worthines. Lykewife to poore people in Rochefter he affigned an other fome to be diftributed. The reft he referved for himfelf to defend his neceffitie in

¹ Fol. 78.

prison, where he accounted himself sure as soone as he was come before the Commissioners, alwaies reserving vnto the Colledge of Saint John in Cambrige such percells of goods as he before had geuen them, and borrowed againe of them by his wrytinge, though in deed his good meaninge in that point was neuer fulfilled, as after shal be declared. The next daie he sett forward his iorney towards Lambeth, and passing through Rochester, there were by that time assembled a great number of people of ¹that Cittie and countrey aboute to see him departe, to whom he gave his blessinge on all sides, as he ridde through the Cittie bare headed. There might you haue heard great waylinge and lamentinge: some cryinge *that* they should neuer see him againe. Some others said, woe worth they that are the cause of his trouble; others cryed out vpon the wickednes of the time to see such sight; every one vttering his greefe to others as their mindes served them. Thus passed he till he came to a place in the waie called Shooters hill, nigh twenty miles from Rochester, on the topp wherof he rested himself, and defended from his horse; and because the howre of his refection was then come, which he observed at dew times, he caused to be sett before him such victualls as were thither broughte for him of purpose, and there dyed openly in the ayre, his seruants standinge round about him, and so came to London that night. And this precise order of dyett he vsed longe before, because the Phisitians thought, and he feared him self to be entred into a consumption. When the daie of his appearance was come, he presented himself before the byshopp of Canterburie, the lorde Awdeley, Chauncellor of England, and *Maister* Thomas Cromwell, the kings secretarie, and certaine other commissioners authorised vnder the great seale to tender the oath to him and others, they sittinge then at Lambeth, where he found at the same time Sir Thomas Moore and ²*Maister* Doctor Wilfon, somtimes the kings Confessor, who both had refused the oath a litle before his cominge, and therupon Sir Thomas Moore being committed to the custodie of the Abbot of Westminster, Doctor Wilfon was forthwith sent to the towre of London. Against the same daie all the Clergie of London were also warned to come thither about the same purpose, wherof fewe or none refused the

¹ Fol. 78, back.² Fol. 79.

oath for that time. Then was he called into the Chamber before them, and there my lord of Canterburie put him in remembrance of the late Act of Parliament, wherein is provided an oath to be miniftered to all the kinges *maiesties* fubiects for *the* fuertie of his fuccellion in the crowne of this realme, "*which* oath" (faid he), "all the lordes, both spirituell and temporall, haue willingly taken, only *your* lordship except. And therefore his *maiestie* holdeth himself greatly discontent with you, and hath by his Commiffion appointed vs to call you before vs, and to offer you the oath once againe, which we have here prefent;" and therewith laying *the* oath before him, demaunded of him what he faid to yt. Then faid my lord of Rocheſter, "I praie you let me fee the oath, and confider a litle vpon it." Then the Commiffioners, confultinge a litle amonge them felves, graunted him fpace for foure or five daies, and fo he departed againe to his owne howſe in Lambeth Marſh where he lodged.

¹During the time of his lyinge there many of his frendes came to viſitt him, and as it were to take their leaves of him, thinkinge to fee him no more after that day: amonge which the maiſters and fellows of *Saint Johns* College in Cambrige, not forgettinge their great benefitt receaved at his handes, ſent vp two of their companie, called *Maifter* Seton and *Maifter* Brandſbe, partly to ſalute and viſitt him in the name of the whole howſe, and partly to deſire of him the confirmation of their Statutes vnder his ſeale, which himſelf longe before had made and drawne in writing, but yet never confirmed. And therefore doubting much the time of his imprifonment to be verie neare at hand, their humble ſuite was that it would pleaſe him to alowe the ſame ſtatutes vnder his ſeale before he went to priſon: but to that he answered that he would firſt reade and confider of them once more, and then (if he lyked them) he would fulfill their requeſt. "Alas" (faid they), "we feare the time is now ſo ſhort for you to read them before you goe to priſon." "Then," faid he, "I will read them in priſon." "Naie" (faid they), "that we thinke will hardlie be brought to paſſe." "Then" (faid he), "let gods will be done, for I will neuer alowe vnder my ſeale that thinge ²which I haue not well and ſubſtancially reieued and confidered:" wherefore

¹ Fol. 79, back.² Fol. 80.

these two fellowes departed without their purpose. But shortly after, when this good father was in prison, and things began to alter and change, the byshop of Canterburie and *Maister* Cromwell, the kings Secretarie, with certaine others, by vertue of a commission from the kinge, made a new booke of Statutes, and sent them downe vnder their authoritie to the Colledge: which new statutes beinge receaved, then were the ould then made by the Bisshop of Rochester, pronounced void and of none effect, and therfore the bookes to be laid awaie, and disposed at their pleasure. At the same time was Prefeident in that howse one *Maister* George Cowper, a Bachelor in divinitie, and a right well learned and reuerend man. This *Maister* Cowper, havinge one of the ould Statute bookes remayning in his custodie (as by vertue of his office belonged vnto him), was loath to deface or cast it awaie for his sake that made them, but studyinge with himself what were best to be done with *the* booke, agreed at the last to geve the same to some bodie to be kept for a remembrance of that holy man, and so vpon some speeciall fancie (as it seemed) gave them to a yonge fellow of that howse standing by called Thomas Watfon, saying to him, "hould, take this booke of my gifte, and keep it well, for the time may ¹come that thou shalt live and restore it to the howse, and so bring the statutes into their force againe." And in deed (as this good man said) it came after to passe, for that yonge man prospered in his studies so singularly well, that he came to great honour, estimation, & credit, and beinge many yeres after elected *Maister* of that howse, restored againe those good Statutes, which stood in force till wickednes againe gott the vpper hande. But since that, for his speeciall merittes, he beinge most worthily promoted to the Bishoprick of Lincoln, is for his great and profound learninge accounted a rare man in his time.

The day beinge at last come when this blessed man should geue answer before the Commissioners, whether he would accept the Oath or not, he presented himself againe vnto them, sayinge, "That he had perused the same oath with as good deliberacion as he could, but that it being framed in such sort as it is, by no meanes he could accept yt with safetie of his Conscience. Neuertheles" (said he),

¹ Fol. 80, back.

"to satisfie the kings *maiesties* will and pleasure, I can be content to sweare to some part therof, so that my self may frame yt with other conditions, and in other sort then it now standeth; and so both mine owne conscience shall be the better satisfied, and his *maiesties* doings the better iustified and warranted by lawe."

¹But to that they answered that the kinge would by no means lyke of exceptions or Conditions; "and therefore," said my lord of Canterburie, "you must answere directlie to our question, whether you will sweare the oath or noe." Then said my lord of Rochester, "yf you will needs haue me to answere directly, my answere is, That forasmuch as mine owne conscience cannot be satisfied, I do absolutely refuse the oath:" vpon which answere he was sent straightway to the Towre of London, where he remained verie close locked and shutt vp in a stronge prison, without the companie of any person more then one servant to helpe him in his necessitie, because he was aged; and this was done on tuesdaie the xxjth of Aprill, in the yere of our lord god 1534, and the xxvth yeare of the Kings Raigne, being the last daie of his raigne for that yere.

After he had lyen in prison six mounths and more, the Parliament began againe at Westminster vpon prorogacion in the xxvjth yere of the kings raigne, the third daie of November. This Parliament, although it were but short (for yt continued but five and fortie daies), yet were the matters within it both great and waightie. Amonge which one Act was made for ratifyinge the Oathe made in the last Parliament touching the Succession, for the refusinge wherof this good bishop was committed to prison (as ye have heard before): for ye shall ²vnderstand, that although this oath was ministred to diuers persons (wherof the most accepted it for feare), and some refused it that were forthwith imprisoned, yet was not the same euer warranted by lawe, nether yet any man compellable by that law to take yt before the makinge of the second Acte. And therefore seeinge it so fell out that this good father was by their owne lawes wrongfully imprisoned for refusing this oath, yt was now ordered that his wrongfull imprisonment was to be iudged and accounted rightfull from the begininge by this Acte of Parliament.

¹ Fol. 81.

² Fol. 81, back.

Then was there an other Statute made in the fame Parliament wherby the kings heires and Successors, contrarie to his former promisse solemlie made to the Convocation in the word of a kinge, should be taken, accepted, and reputed (for so be the verie termes of the Statute) the one supream head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, to have and inioy the fame as a title & stile to his emperiall Crowne, with all honours, iurisdictiones, authorities, and privileges to the fame belonging, and should have full power and authoritie as himself listeth: to visit, repress, redress, reforme, order, ¹correct, restore, and amend all heresies, abuses, errorrs, and offences whatsoever they were, as fully and amply as the same might or ought to be done, or corrected by any spirituall authoritie or iurisdiction. And whereas the Convocation gave him this tytle in the xxijth yere of his raigne, with much adoce (as ye haue readd before), and yet not simply, but with these conditionall words, *quantum per legem dei licet*; now were these wordes forgotten, and all was taken by this Acte as of the laie people, without any condicion at all; or mention of these wordes, even as this holy man foresawe, and had given warning aforehand. And that it might the more easly be wrought, the kinge kept this good Bishop fast in prison all the Parliament time, lest he, being amonge the lordes in the higher howse, might (as he had done before) hinder the matter, which doubtles to the vttermost of his powre he would have done in deed, not only in this Acte, but also in fundrie other actes, both in this Parliament and in other Parliaments after, wherein the Church of England was vtterlie ruined, spoyled, and quite overthrowne. In the same Parlement it was further enacted, that if any manner of person should, by word or deed, maliciously presume to denie the title of Supremacie, that then euery such person should be reputed and taken as an high traytour, and to suffer and abide such losses & paines ²as in cases of high treason is provided. And here I cannot omitt to declare vnto you what a businesse was in the Parliament howse when this Acte was made: for there were many that thought the Lawe verie hard and rigorous, to condemne a man of high treason for sayinge the kinge is not supream head of the

¹ Fol. 82.² Fol. 82, back.

Church : for some time a man might faie it negligently and vnawares, and fometimes in sporte by way of talke ; and therfore except dewe proof could be made, that the wordes were spoken maliciously, the common howse was verie loath to passe the Acte at all. This was debated amongst them for many daies, so that at last this word (maliciously) was expresse in the Acte, though afterward it serued to noe purpose at all.

Duringe the time that this blessed man lay thus closely imprisoned, the kinge sent to him diuers of his counsell, and fometimes certaine of the Bishops, and fometimes other lay men, that were learned, to perswade with him to take the Oath of Succession, but all in vaine, for such was his intire constancie, that nether paine of his imprisonment—which to a weake and ould man could not be small—nor yet the faire flatteringe wordes, which they that were sent ¹from the kinge, with no small shewe of eloquence vsed towards him, could at all move him to take such oath against his conscience : no, although he might wyne therby (as him self said) the whole worlde. Now was it so that even about the verie same time, or verie soone after that he was thus committed to the Tower, the most famous and worthie man, Sir Thomas Moore, his companion and fellowe in trooble, was also committed to the same place for lyke refusall of *that* Oath. This worthie man, as he was for his singuler witt farr surpassinge any that euer yet hath bene heard or read of in this Realme, and rarely elfewhere, so for learninge it was verie hard to finde a Laie man of *that* time his lyke. When worde was brought to my lord of Rochester by his man, that Sir Thomas Moore was brought thither prisoner, he began straight waie to conceive a certaine Ioye, being gladd, no doubt, of so good & faithfull companie as he therby hoped, in having now such a worthie companion in this great and worthie cause ; wherefore, as soone as he had opportunitie, he sent him his lovinge and hartie Commendacion, receiuinge from him the lyke againe. And after that, being in time some what released of that close and hard imprisonment that at the first they suffred, they would now and then salute one an other secretly by their mutuall letters, which continewed for a time, to both their

¹ Fol. 83.

exceedinge comfortes: Till ¹at length, God takinge pittie vpon their innocent foules, in these longe and trooblefome afflictions of their bodies, was pleased to accept their good harts and wills, that so zealously fought and labored to be with him; for he permitted one letter at last to be taken, which my lord of Rochester had written to Sir Thomas Moore, and sent by his owne servant, which letter, being brought to *the* Lieutenant, he forthwith sent it to the Kings Counsell, by whom it was opened and reade, containinge his harty request made to Sir Thomas Moore, to know what he had said before the Counsell at a certaine time (when he was called before them within the Towre), touching the divorce, and receaving the oath limited in the new acte of Parliament; and in the same letter he also declared what answer himself had made before them, being hardly vrged in the same matters a daie or two before. This letter being thus knowne to the kinge and the Counsell, was greivously taken by them all, conceivinge thereby straight waie, that much conference had bene betweene them longe together. Wherefore they were more straightly imprisoned then euer they had bene before. Then was my lord of Rochesters man (that was messenger betweene them) verie closely shutt vp also, and terribly threatened to be hanged, in case he did not confesse the truth in all such questions as should be demaunded of him, amonge which one question was: how many ²letters he had from time to time carried betweene his *maister* and Sir Thomas Moore, who, fearing much his life, and beinge but a simple fellowe, confessed that he had carried about sixteen or seventeen letters, but of *the* contentes therof he knewe nothinge, because they were sealed. Howbeit, some of them were written with inke, and some with cole. When this matter came to *the* knowledge of the two prisoners, noe marvaile though they thought them selves grieved, and were verie sorie for their poore man, whose Case they more lamented then their owne: for touching *that* matter they had in hand, they were both fully agreed, though these letters had neuer bene, as after by their doings it appeared further to the worlde. But at their arraignment these *lettres* were hainously laid to both their charges, and taken as a conspiracie betweene them, wherby *the* one

¹ Fol. 83, back.² Fol. 84.

comforted the other in their wilfull obftinacie, becaufe their answers were alwaies alyke. When after diuers meanes vfed, the kinge faw that no waie would ferve, he fent on a daie to this conftant byfhopp the lord Chauncellour Awdley, the Duke of Suffolk, the Erle of Wilfhire, *Maiſter* Secretarie Crumwell, and certaine others of his privie Councell, to fignifie vnto him the new lawe that was lately made ſince his imprifonment for the kings fupremacie, contayninge within it the paine of highe treafon to all ſuch as ¹ ſhould directly gainſaie, or by any manner waies withftand the ſame: “wherefore” (ſaid they) “we are now come vnto you in his maieſties name, to vnderftand whether you are content to acknowledge and confeſſe the ſame, as other lordes ſpiritual and temporall, and the commons in the name of the whole realme have done, or noe?” This matter, as it was both great and waightie, ſo it began to towch him as neere as his flirte; for vpon anſwere of this Caſe he knewe right well his life reſted, for he conſidered deeply with himſelf, both by that *which* he had before read in the Statute, and alſo *the* report which he had heard of others, that yf by plaine and expreſſe wordes he ſhould ſay the king was not ſupreme head of the Church of England, then were he in daunger of his life, becauſe it was plaine treafon by the new ſtatute. And knowinge againe by his learninge, that notwithstandinge this lawe, the kinge nether was, nor by any right (the law of god repugninge) could iuſtly be ſupream, he was perſwaded that to confeſſe that openly in his mowth which his conſcience taught him to be cleane falſe and vntrewe, were nothinge els but manifeſtly to incurre the diſpleaſure of god, and indaunger his ſoul: wherefore, being in great perplexitie with himſelf what anſwere he might make for the preſervacion of his life in this worlde, and his ſoul ² in the other world to come; at laſt, for ſaving of them both together, he made this wiſe and grave anſwere:

“My lords, you haue here demaunded of me a queſtion ſoe doubtfull to anſwere, that I wott not almoſt what to ſaie to yt with mine owne ſafetie, and therfore this new Acte ſeemeth to me much lyke a two-edged ſworde; for yf I anſwere you directly, with denyall of *the* kings Supremacie, then am I ſure of death; and yf,

¹ Fol. 84, back.

² Fol. 85.

on the contrarie part, I acknowledge the fame contrarie to my owne confcience, then am I fure of the losse of my foule; wherfore (as neare as I can to avoid both daungers) I fhall desire your *Lordships* to beare with my silence, for I am not minded to make anie direct answer to it at all."

The lordes, and others of the kings Councell, hearinge his answer, were nothinge satisfiied nor contented therewith, wherfore they began to vrge him yet a litle nearer, and the lord Chauncellour (in the name of the rest) said vnto him: That it were good he did a litle better confider of this matter; "for these kind of wordes" (said he) "will by no meanes lyke the kings *maiestie*." And then he repeated vnto him how the kings grace was informed of the mutuall conference *that* had passed betweene him and Sir Thomas Moore by fundrie letters, which he tooke in verie ill parte; "and therefore" (said he), "yf you shall now stand in this manner against him, you shall more exasperat his greivous ¹indignation and displeasure, and geve him good cause to thinke that you deale more stubbornly with him then standeth with the dutie of a good subiecte."

To that my lord of Rochester answered, that towching *that* which had passed between him and Sir Thomas Moore, he wished now with all his hart that they were all there readie to be shewed, affirminge vpon his word and promise, that the effect of the most of them was no other thinge then frendlie salutacion. "And further" (said he), "knowinge that Sir Thomas Moore was fundrie times since his imprisonmente called before your *lordships* and others, as I was, to answer to such questions as there were proponed vnto him, towching the new statute, I was desirous to knowe his answeres, because of the greate opinion I haue in his profound learninge and singuler witt. And, lyke as I was desirous to know his answer, so I aduertised him of mine. And where it is thought *that* the kings *maiestie* will be much displeased with me with this kind of doubtfull answer; truly no man shall be more sorie for it then I. But where the case so standeth, as by mine open and plaine answer with satisfiyinge his *maiesties* pleasure, I cannot escape *the* displeasure of Almighty god, I thinke it the more tollerable on my part yf I vse silence, and do trust that his grace will so accept it."

¹ Fol. 85, back.

¹Then said *Maister* Cromwell: "wherby thinke you (more then other men have done) that in satisfiyinge the kinges *Maieftie* herein, you should displease god?" "Because" (said he) "I know how mine owne conscience standeth, and so do I not an other mans." "Yf your Conscience be so fetled" (said my lord Chancellor), "I doubt not but you can render some good cause therof, and that ye can be content to open the same to vs." "In deed" (said he), "I thinke I am able to render you a good sufficient cause whie my conscience so standeth, and could also be content to declare you the same, might I do yt with mine owne safetie, and without offence to the kinges *maiestie* and his lawes." whervnto no man answered any more for that time, but, callinge for the Leiutenant, he was deliuered againe vnto him againe with a verie strait charge, *that* no further conference or message should passe between him and *Sir Thomas More*, or any other. And so they went to the kinge, & made report of all that was done: after the which time the leiutenant (accordinge to his great charge) looked more narrowly to them both then before he had donne, so that noe knowledge passed between them more then by gods holy spiritt, which vndoubtedly directed them both in all their sayings and doings: for in all their examinacions after their answeres were euer agreeable.

Thus were those two notable and worthy persons from day to daie labored and wrought by the kings Councell ²fundrie waies to confesse and acknowledge this new Act of Succession, and to receive the oath for observinge the same; But for all that could be done, nether of them would be euer brought so farre, wherfore seeinge that none of these meanes would serue, the Councell vsed a new craftie and subtile devise to deceive them both (yf yt might have bene), by gevinge out false rumors of the one to the other; for at a solemne daie appointed, when my lord of Rochester was called before them, and there fore vrged to take the oath, they threatned earnestly vpon him that he rested himself altogether vpon *Sir Thomas Moore*, and *that* by his perswasion he stood so stillie in the matter as he did; and therefore to drive him from that howlde, they told him plainly, and put him out of dowbt, that *Sir Thomas Moore* had receaved the

¹ Fol. 86.² Fol. 86, back.

oath; and shoulde therfore finde the kinge his good lord, and be verie shortly restored to his full libertie with his Graces favour, which did at the first cast this good father into some perplexitie and forrowe for Sir Moores sake, whom for his manifold divine giftes he tendered and highly revered, thinkinge it had bene trewe in deed, because he mistrusted not the false traines of the Councillours. But yet could not all this move him to take the oath.

Lykewife when Sir Thomas Moore was ¹called before them, they would perswade with him as they did before with my lord of Rochester, makinge him beleue that he would never have stood thus longe, but for my lord of Rochester, and then in the end tould him that he was content to accept the oath, which Sir Thomas Moore suspected greatly to haue been trewe, and yet not altogether trewe; for *that* it was so geuen out by the lordes (of whose slaights he was not ignorant), but because it was a common talke amonge diuers others as he vnderstood by *the* report of *maid*/trifs Margaret Roper, his daughter, who vpon speciall suite had free acceffe to her father for *the* most time of his imprisonment. She had thus reported vnto him vpon occasion of talke once with my lord Chauncellour, who on a time as she was futor to him for her fathers increase of libertie, answered her, *that* her father was a great deal too obstinate & self willed, saying that there were no more in the Realme *that* sticked in this matter but he and a blind bishop (meaninge my lord of Rochester), "who is now content" (said he) "with much adoee to accept the oath, and so I wish your father to doe, for otherwise I can do him no good." And the lyke answere my lord Chauncellor made also to the ladie Ales Alington, the wife of Sir Giles Alington, and daughter of Sir Thomas Moores last wife; when she at an other time before was futor for her father-in-law, Sir Thomas Moore, in *the* same case.

²The kinge seeinge himself by all this neuer *the* nearer to his purpose, began then to seeke daily new inventions, either to bringe him to confesse his supremacie accordinge to this new Acte, or els for denyinge the same to intrapp him into such daunger as is provided in the said Acte. Then came to him at feuerall times

¹ Fol. 87.

² Fol. 87, back.

byfhopp Stokefly of London, bifhopp Stephen Gardiner of Wincheſter, bifhopp Tunſtall of Durham, with certaine other biſhops to perſwade him to yelde to the kings demand. And yet no doubt but moſt of them did this againſt their ſtomacks, and rather for feare of the kings diſpleaſure (in whom they knew there was no mercie) then for any truth they thought in the matter; for I have credibly heard ſaie that Biſhopp Stokefly all his lyfe after, when he had occaſion to ſpeake of this buſineſſe, would ernestly weepe and ſaie: “Oh, that I had holden ſtill with my brother Fyſher and not leſte him when time was:” And for the Biſhopp of Wincheſter, my ſelf have diuers times heard him, ſometime in *the* pulpitt openly, and ſometime in talke at dinner amonge *the* lordes of the Councell, and ſometime in other places verie ernestly accuſe himſelf of his behauiour and ¹doings at that time: I have alſo heard the right reuerrend & learned father Doctor Thomas Harding, ſometime his Chaplen and ghottly father, ſaie that oftentimes in much of his ſeacrett talke amonge his Chaplins he would ſo bitterly accuſe himſelf of his doings, in that and ſuch like buſineſſ of thoſe daies, that at laſt the teares would fall from his eyes abundantly, and finallie in the daies of kinge Edward *the* fixt, being conuented before the kings Commiſſioners, and there greatly vrged to proceed yet further, accordinge to *the* fruites of that time; he not only retracted before them all his former doings, but alſo ſuffred himſelf to be deprived of his great dignitie, and liuinge with ſharpe imprifonment within *the* towre of London the ſpace of five yeres and more, mindinge there to haue recouered the thinge which he before had loſt; I meane the bleſſed ſtate of martyrdom, yf god had bene ſo pleaſed; or els in place therof to continew a godlie confeſſor, remayninge a perpetuall priſoner all his daies, for a iuſt and trewe deſerved pennaunce of his offence. Howbeit it ſhortly after fell out otherwiſe, in the Raigne of this moſt noble and vertuous Queen Marie; for after god had once placed her in the gouernment and crowne of this realme, ſhe not only reſtored the auncient & Catholie religion throughout the ſame realme, but alſo deliuered him out of priſon with the biſhopp of Durham, before named, and diuers others, who laie there in lyke forte and almoſt the lyke ſpace that *the* biſhop of wincheſter did.

¹ Fol. 88.

¹These Bifhopps (I faie) perfwaded thus continewally with this holy man, fomtimes one & fomtimes an other, but all in vaine; for by no meanes would he be wonne to fwarue one Iote from that which by his learninge he knewe to be iuft and trewe.

At an other time came to him by *the* kings commaundment, fix or feaven bifhopps at once, to treat with him in lyke fort as the others had done feuerally before. And when they had declared their intent and caufe of their comminge, he made anfwere again in thefe, or lyke wordes,—“ My Lords, it is no fmall greefe to me that occafion is geuen to deale in fuch matters as thefe be, but it greeveth me much more to fee and heare fuch men as you be perfwade with me therin feeinge it concerneth you in your feueral² charge, as deeply as it doth me in mine, and therfore me thinketh it had bene rather our partes to fticke together in repreffinge thefe violent and vnlawfull intrufions and iniuries dayly offred to our common mother, the holy Church of Chrift, then by any manner of perfwafions to helpe or fett forward the fame. And we ought rather to feeke by all meanes the temporall diftruccion of the fo³ ravenous woolves, that daily goe about wyrryinge and devowringe euerlaftinglie, the flocke *that* Chrift committed to our Charge, and the flocke that himfelf dyed for, then to fuffer them thus to range abroad. But (alas) feeing we do it not, ye fee in what perrill the *Chriften* State nowe ftandeth: We are befieged on all fides, and can hardly efcape the daunger of our enemy: And feeinge *that* iudgment is begone at the howfe of god, what hope is there left (if we fall) that the reft fhall ftand! The fort is betrayed even of them that fhould have defended it. And therfore feeinge the matter is thus begonne, and fo faintly refifted on our parts, I feare we be not the men that fhall fee the ende of the miferie. wherfore feeing I am an ould man and looke not longe to live, I minde not by the helpe of god to trooble my confcience in pleafing the king this waie whatfoeuer become of me, but rather here to fpend out the remnant of my old daies in prayinge to god for him.” And fo their communicacion beinge ended, the byfhops departed, fome of them with heavie harts, and after *that* daie came no more to

¹ Fol. 88, back.

² “ feueral ” underlined and “ in your feueral ” written in margin.

³ Fol. 89.

him. But within a litle space after these bishops were thus gone, his owne man *that* kept him in the prison beinge but a simple fellowe, and hearing all this talk, fell in hand with him about this matter and said: "Alas (my Lorde), ¹ why should you sticke with the kinge more then the rest of the bishops haue done, who be right well learned and godly men, doubt you not he requireth noe more of you, but only to saie he is head of the Church, and me thinketh *that* is no great matter, for your lordships may still thinke as you list." The bishop perceiuinge his simplicitie and knowinge he spake of good will and love towards him, said vnto him againe in the waie of talke: "Tush, tush, thou art but a foole, and knowest litle what this matter meaneth, but hereafter thou maist knowe more. But I tell thee it is not for the Supremacie only that I am thus tossed and troubled, but also for an oath" (meaninge the oath of the king's succession) "which yf I would haue sworn, I doubt whether I should euer haue bene questioned for the Supremacie or noe; but god being my good lord I will never agree to any of them both. And this thou maist saie another daie thou heardest me speake when I am dead and gone out of this worlde."

The Kinge beinge still desirous to take all the vantage against this good father, that might be found by vertue of his new lawe, and yet by all that he had hitherto spoken or done, not able to take ynough ²for his purpose, began now a new waie how to intrap him by policie, which although it were verie vncharitable, and not standinge with a Princes Maiestie, yet such was the king's malice against this holy man, that so he might compasse his purpose, he respected nether right nor wronge, truth nor falshood, honor nor shame. The manner of this new invented policie was this. About the beginninge of Maie after this blessed father had bene prisoner somewhat more then a yeare the kinge sent vnto him one *Maister* Richard Rich, being then his generall Solicitor, and a man in great trust about him, with a secrett message to be imparted vnto him in his maiesties behalf: which message though it were in deed for *the* time verie secrett, yet fell it out at last to be openly knowne to the worlde, both to the kings great dishonor and perpetuall infamie of the wicked and traiterous

¹ Fol. 89, back.

² Fol. 90.

messenger as after shal appeare, neuertheles this messenger beinge come to the presence of this blessed father in his prison, did there his arrant (as it seemed) accordinge to *the kings commaundment*, for it was not longe after his returne to the kinge with answere of his message, but an indictment of highe treason was framed against him, and he arraigned & condemned at *the barr* vpon the talke *that* had passed betweene them so secretly, as after shal be declared vnto you.

¹ It fell out in the meane time *that* Pope Paul the third of blessed memorie, hearing much of the great constancie of this blessed man, as well before his imprisonment, as now in all the time of his hard restraint, was disposed to aduance him to a higher dignitie and place accordinge to his great worthines and desert, thinkinge that by reason of this kinde of aduancement the kinge would have shewed him more clemencie, and lest of further working him trouble and daunger, for his great dignities sake. And so at a solemne creation of Cardinalls had at Rome in the first yere of his Consecration, amonge diuers other worthie and famous Cardinalls, this good bishop was also created a Cardinall the xxjth daie of Maie, in the yere of our Lord god, 1535, intituled Sanctæ ecclesiæ Tituli Sancti vitalis presbiter Cardinalis, whervpon shortly after the Cardinalls hatt was sent towardes him, but when it came to Callis it was there staid till such time as the kinge was aduertised therof, and his pleasure knowne, who (as soone as he heard of yt) ²sent speedily in great anger to the Lord Deputie, commaunding him in any wise to suffer it to come no nearer till his further pleasure knowne, and immediatly after sent *Maister* Thomas Crumwell, his Secretarie, to this good father in his prison to aduertise him what was done, only to the intent to know what he would saie to yt. *Maister* Crumwell beinge come into his Chamber, and entring into talke with him of many matters, asked at last, "My lord of Rochester" (said he), "yf the Pope should now send you a Cardinalls hatt, what would you doe, would you take yt?" "Sir" (said he), "I know my self farr vnworthie of any such dignitie, that I thinke nothinge lesse then such matters: but yf he doe send it me, assure your self I will worke with it by all the meanes I can to benefitt the Church of Christ, and in that respect I will receive it

¹ Fol. 90, back.

² Fol. 91.

vpou my knees." *Maister* Crumwell making report afterward of this anfwere to the kinge, the kinge faid againe with great indignacion and spite: "yea, is he yet fo lustie? Well, let the Pope fend him a hatt when he will, but I will fo provide that when foeuer it commeth he fhall weare it on his fhoulders for head fhall he have none to fett it on."

¹ Wherefore the kinge mindinge now vpou the returne of Rich vnto him, to tract no longer time, seeing he had matter sufficient (as he thought) to condemne him of high treafon for fpeaking againft his new lawes, caufed a Commiffion to be made vnder his great feale to inquire and determine treafons: which Commiffion was dated the first day of June, in the xxvijth yere of his raigne, againft which time the kings learned Councell had alfo drawne an indightment of treafon againft this bleffed byfhopp, and three holy mounkes of the Charterhoufe of London, whose names were, William Exmew, Humfray Midlemore, and Sabastian Nudigate. This indightment was not longe in findinge, for on *Saint* Barnabies daie the Apofte beinge the xjth of June, it was prefented to the Commiffioners fittinge in the kings bench at Weftminfter, whervpon the Carthusians were shortly after arraigned and condemned, and having iudgment of high treafon pronounced vpou them, were moft cruelly put to death at Tyborne, the xixth daie of June next followinge, all in their religious habittes: But this good father Bifhop of Rocheſter, ²or rather this devout and moſt reuerend Cardinall, of the holy Church of Rome (for fo I may now from henceforth terme him), chaunced at that prefent to be fo fick and feeble that he kept his bedd in great daunger of his life: Wherefore the kinge ſent vnto him diuers phifitians to geve him prefervatives, wherby he might the rather be able to come to his publike tryall and cruell puniſhment, which the kinge above all things defired, in fo much that he ſpent vpou him in charge of phificke the ſome of fortie or fiftie poundes: and in the meane time, left any conveiance might be made of his goods remayninge at Rocheſter, or els where in Kent, the kinge ſent downe Sir Richard Morriſon of his privie chamber, and one Eſtwick, with certaine other Commiffioners to make a ſeiſure of all his movable goodes they could

¹ Fol. 91, back.

² Fol. 92.

there finde. These Commissioners being come to Rochester, accordinge to their commission entred his howse, and first turned out all his servants. Then they fell to riflinge of his goodes, wherof some part was taken to the kings vse, but more was imbaseled to the vses of them selves and their servants. Then they came into his librarie of bookes, which the[y] spoyled in most pittifull wise, scattering them in such fort as it was lamentable to behoulde: ¹for it was replenished with such and so many kinde of bookes, as the lyke was scant to be found againe in the possession of any one private man in *Christendome*: and of them they trusted vp xxxij great pipes, besides a number that were stolen awaie. And wheras many yeares before he had made a deede of gifte of all those bookes and other his howsehold stufte to the Colledge of St. Johns in Cambrige (as is mentioned in the begininge of this Historie), the poore College was now defrauded of their gifte, and all was turned an other waie: And where lykewise a some of money of three hundred poundes was geven by one of his predecessors, a bishoppe of Rochester, to remaine for ever to the said Sea of Rochester, in custodie of the bishop for the time beinge, for any sodain mischance that by occasion might hap vnto the bishopricke, the same some of CCCi, with Cti more laid to yt, was found in his gallerie locked in a Chest, and from thence carryed cleane awaie by the Commissioners. Amonge all other things found in his howse I cannot omitt to tell you of a coffer standinge in his Oratorie, where comonly no man came but himself alone, for it was his secret place of praier. This coffer beinge surely locked and standinge alwaies ²so neere vnto him, every man began to thinke *that* some great treasure was there stored vp, wherfore because no collusion or falsehood shoulde be vsed to defraude the kinge in a matter of so great charge as this was thought to be, witnesses were solemnly called to be present, so the coffer was broken vp before them; but when it was open they found within it in steed of gould and silver, which they looked for, a shirt of hear and two or three whippes, wherwith he vsed full often to punish himself, as some of his Chaplins and servants would report that were then about him, and curiously marked his doings. And other treasure then that found they none at all. But when report

¹ Fol. 92, back.² Fol. 93.

was made to him in his prifon of the opening of that Coffe he was verie forie for yt, and faid that yf haft had not made him forget that and many things els, they fhould not have found yt there at that time.

After this moft reuerend Cardinall was recouered to fome better ftrengh by the helpe of his phifitions, and that he was more able to be carryed abroade, he was on Thuridaie the xvijth of June, brought to the kings bench at Weftminfter hall from the towre, with a huge number of halberdes, bills, *and* other weapons, about him, and the Axe of the towre borne before him with the edge from him (as the manner is). And becaufe he was not yet fo well recouered that he was able to walke by land all the waie on foote, he road part of the waie on horfebacke, in a blacke cloath gowne, and the reft he was carried by water, for that he was not able ¹to ride through for weaknes. As foone as he was come to Weftminfter, he was there prefented at the barre before *the* faid Commiffioners, beinge all fet readie in their places againft his cominge, whose names were thefe : Sir Thomas Awdley, Knight, lord Chauncellor of England ; Charles, Duke of Suffolk ; Henrie, Erle of Cumberlande ; Thomas, Erle of wiltfhire ; Thomas Crumwell ; Sir Iohn Fitz James, cheef Iuftice of England ; Sir Iohn Baldwine, cheefe iuftice of the common pleas ; Sir William Pawlett ; Sir Richard Lyfter, cheefe barron of the Efchequer ; Sir Iohn Port ; Sir Iohn Spilman ; and Sir Walter Luke, Iuftice of the kings bench ; and Sir Anthonie Fitzharbert, one of the Iuftices of the common pleas. Beinge thus prefented before thefe commiffioners, he was commaunded by the name of Iohn Fifher, late of Rochefter, Clerke, otherwife called Iohn Fifher, bifhop of Rochefter, to hould vp his hand, which he did with a moft cheerfull countenance and rare conftancie. Then was his indictment read, which was verie longe and full of wordes, but the effect of it was thus : That he maliciously, trayteroufly, and fallie, had faid thefe words : " The Kinge our foveraigne lord is not fupreme head in earth of the Church of England : " And beinge reade to the ende it was asked him whether he was guiltie of this treafon or noe ? whervnto he pleaded not guiltie. Then was a lurie of twelve men (beinge freeholders of

¹ Fol. 93, back.

middlefex) called to trie the yssue, whose names were these: Sir Hugh Vaughan, Knight; Sir Walter Hungerford, Knight; Thomas¹ Burbage; Iohn Nudigate; william Browne; Iohn Heues; Iaspar Leake; Iohn Palmer; Richard Henrie Yonge; Henrie Lodisman; Iohn Erlerington; and George Hevemingham, Esquiers. These twelve men being sworne to trie whether the prisoner were guiltie of this treason or noe, at last came forth to geve evidence against him, Mr. Riche, the secreet and clofe messenger that passed between the kinge and him, as you have read before, who openly in the presence of the Iudges, and all the people there assembled (which were a hughe number) deposed and fware that he heard the prisoner saie in plaine wordes within the towre of London, that he beleaved in his conscience, and by his learninge assuredly knewe, that the kinge nether was, nor by right could be, supream head in earth of the Church of England.

When this blessed father heard the accusacions of this most wretched and false person, contrarie to his former oath and promise, he was not a little astonied therat, wherefore he said to him in this manner: "*Maister Rich*, I cannot but marvaile to heare you come in and beare witnesse against me of these wordes, knowinge in what secreet manner you came to me; but suppose I so said vnto you, yet in that sayinge I committed no treason: for vpon what occasion and for what cause it might be said *your self* doth know right well. And therefore, beinge nowe vrged" (said he) "by this occasion to open somewhat of this matter, I shall desire my lordes *and* others here to take a litle patience in hearing what I shall saie for my self. This man" (meaninge *Maister Rich*) "came to me from the king (as he said) on a secreet message, with commendacions from his grace,² declaringe at large what a good opinion his *maiestie* had of me, and how forie he was of my trouble, with many more wordes then are here needfull to be recited, because they tended so much to my praise, as I was not only ashamed to heare them, but also knew right well that I could no waie deserve them. At last he brake with me of the kings supremacie, lately graunted vnto him by acte of perlement, 'to the which' (he said), 'although all the bishops in the realme haue con-

¹ Fol. 94.

² Fol. 94, back.

fented, except *your self* alone, and also *the* whole Court of Parlement, both spirituall and temperall, except a verie fewe,' yet he tould me that the king, for better satisfaccion of his owne conscience, had sent him vnto me in this secreet manner to know my full opinion in the matter, for the great affyaunce he had in me more then in any other. He added further, that yf I would herein franklie and freely advertise his *maiestie* of my knowledge, that vpon certificat of my mislykinge he was verie lyke to retract much of his former doinges, and make satisfaccion for the same, in case I should so advise him. When I had heard all his message, and considered a litle vpon his wordes, I put him in minde of the new Act of Parlement, which, standing in force as it doth against all them that shall directly saie or doe any thing against yt, might thereby indaunger me verie much, in case I should vtter vnto him any thinge that were offensive against the lawe. To that he tould me, that the kinge willed him to assure me on his honor, and in the worde of a kinge, that whatfoeuer I should saie vnto him by this his secreet messenger, I should abide no daunger nor perrill for it, nether that any advantage should be taken against me for the same: no, although my wordes were never so directly against the Statute, seeinge ¹it was but a declaracion of my mind secretly to him, as to his owne person. And for the messenger himself, he gaue me his faithfull promise that he would neuer vtter my wordes in this matter to any man livinge, but to the kinge alone. Now therefore, my lordes" (quoth he), "seeinge yt pleased the kings *maiestie* to send me word thus secretly, vnder the pretence of plaine and trewe meaninge, to know my poor advise and opinion in these his waightie and great doinges (which I most gladly was, and euer will be, to send him); me thinke it is verie hard in Iustice to heare the messengers accusacion, and to alowe the same as a sufficient testimonie against me, in case of treason." To this the messenger would make no direct answere, but with a most impudent and shameles face (nether denying his wordes for false, nor confessinge them for trewe) said, that whatfoeuer he had said vnto him on the kings behalf, he said no more then his *maiestie* commaunded him: "But" (said he) "yf I had said to you in such fort as you haue declared,

I would gladly know what discharge this is to you in lawe against his *maiestie* for so directly speakinge against the Statute?" wherat some of the Iudges, taking quick hould one after an other, said that this message or promise from the kinge to him nether could nor did, by vigor of the lawe, discharge him, but in so declaring of his minde against the Supremacie, yea, though it were at the kings owne commaundement and request, he committed treason by the Statute, and nothinge can discharge him from death but the kings pardon. This good father, perceaving the small ¹account made of his wordes, and the favorable credit geven to his accuser, might then easilie smell which waie the matter would goe: wherefore, directing his speeches to the lordes, his Iudges, he said: "Yet I praie you, my lordes, consider that by all equitie, iustice, worldly honestie, and curteous dealinges, I cannot (as the case standeth) be directly charged therewith as with treason, though I had spoken *the* wordes in deed, the same being not spoken maliciously, but in the waie of advise and counsell, when it was requested of me by the kinge himself, and that favour *the* verie wordes of the Statute do geve me, beinge made only against such as shall maliciously gainsaie the kings supremacie, and none other." To that it was answered by some of the Iudges, that *the* worde maliciously in the Statute, is but a superfluous and void word: for if a man speake against the kings supremacie by any manner of meanes, that speakinge is to be vnderstanded *and* taken in lawe as maliciously. "My lorde" (said he), "yf *the* lawe be so vnderstood, then it is a hard exposition, and (as I take it) contrarie to the meaninge of them *that* made the lawe. But then let me demaund this question, whether a single testimonie of one man maie be admitted as sufficient to prove me guiltie of treason for speaking these wordes, or noe? and whether my answere negatively maie not be accepted against his affirmative, to my ²availe and benefitt, or noe?" To that the Iudges and lawiers answered, that (beinge the kings case) it rested much in conscience and discretion of the Jurie, "and as they vpon the evidence geven before them, shall find yt, you are ether to be acquitted, or els by iudgment to be condemned." The Iurie, havinge heard all this simple evidence, departed (according to the order) into a

¹ Fol. 95, back.² Fol. 96.

secret place, there to agree vpon the verdict; but before they went from the place the case was so aggravated to them by my lord Chancellor, making it so hainous and daungerous a treason, that they easily perceived what verdict they must returne, or els heape such daunger vpon their owne heades, as was for none of their cases to beare. Some other of the Commissioners charged this most reverend Cardinall with obstinacie and singularitie, alleading that he, beinge but one man, did presumptuously stand against that which was in the great Councill of Parliament agreed and finally consented vnto by all the Bishoppes of this Realme, saving himself alone. But to that he answered, that he might well be accounted singuler, yf he alone should stand in this matter (as they said); but, having on his part the rest of the bishoppes of Christendome, farr surmountinge the number of the bishops of England, they could not iustly account him singuler. And having, on his part, all the Catholick bishops of the world, from Christ his Affention till now, ioyned with the whole consent of Christs vniuersall Church, "I must needs" (said he), "account mine owne part farre the surer. And as for obstinacie, which is likewise obiected against me, I have no waie to cleere my self therof, but by my owne solemne word and promise to the contrarie, yf you please to beleue it; or els, yf that will not serue, I am here readie to confirme the same by mine oath." Thus in effect he answered their obiections, though with many moe wordes, both wisely and profoundly vttered, and that with marvelous corragious and rare constancie, in so much as many of his hearers, yea, some of his Iudges, lamented so greivously, that their inward sorrowe on all sides was exprest by the outward teares of their eyes, to perceiue such a famous and reuerend man in daunger to be condemned to cruell death by such an impious lawe, vpon so weake evidence geuen by such a wicked accuser, contrarie to all faith and promise of the kinge himself. But all pittie, mercie, and right being laid aside, rigor, crueltie and malice, tooke place: for the xij men, beinge shortly returned from their consultation, verdict was geuen that he was guiltie of the treason: which, although they thus did vpon the menacing and threatninge wordes of the Commissioners, and the

¹ Fol. 96, back.

kings learned Counsell, yet was it (no doubt) full fore against their consciences (as some of them would after report to their dying daies) only for safetie of their goods *and* lives, which they were well assured to lose in case they had acquyted him. After the verdict thus given by the xij men, The lord Chancellor, commaunding silence to be kept, said vnto the prisoner in this sorte: My lord of Rochester, you haue bene here arraigned of high treason, and puttinge *your* self to the triall of xij men, you haue pleaded not guiltie, and they, notwithstandinge, haue found you guilty in their consciences: wherefore, yf you haue any more to ¹saie for *yourself*, you are nowe to be heard, or els to receive iudgment accordinge to the order and course of the lawe. Then said this blessed father againe: "Truly, my *Lords*, yf that which I haue before spoken be not sufficient, I haue no more to saie, but only to desire Almighty God to forgeve them that haue thus condemned me, for I thinke they know not what they haue done." Then my lord Chancellor, framinge himself to a solemnitie in countenance, pronounced sentence of death vpon him in manner and forme followinge: "You shall be ledd to the place from whence you came, and from thence shall be drawne through the Cittie to the place of execution at Tyborne, where *your* body shall be hanged by the necke: and beinge half alive, you shall be cutt downe and throwne to the ground, *your* bowells to be taken out of *your* body, and burnt before you, beinge alive; *your* head to be smitten of, and *your* bodie to be devided into four quarters; and after, *your* head and quarters to be set vp where the kinge shall appoint, and god haue mercy vpon *your* soule."

After the pronouncing of this horrible and cruell sentence of death, the Leifetenant of the Towre with his bande of men stood readie to receive and carrie him backe againe to his prison. But before his departure he desired audience of the Commissioners for a few wordes, which beinge graunted he said thus in effect: "My *Lords*, I am here condemned before you of high treason for denyall of *the* kings Supremacie ouer the Church of England, but by what order of iustice I leave to god, who is searcher both of *the* kings maieties conscience and *yours*. ²Neuertheles beinge found guiltie (as it is

¹ Fol. 97.² Fol. 97, back.

learned) I am and must be content with all that god shall send, to whose will I wholly reserve and submit my self. And now to tell you more plainly my minde touching this matter of the king's Supremacie, I thinke in deed and alwaies have thought, and do now lastly affirme, that his Grace cannot iustly claime any such Supremacie over the Church of god as he now taketh vpon him, nether hath it bene euer seene or heard of, that anie temporall Prince before his daies hath presumed to that dignitie. wherfore yf the kinge will now adventure himself in proceedinge in this straunge and vnwonted Case, no doubt but he shall deeply incurre the greivous displeasure of Almightye god, to the great daunger of his owne foul and of manie others, and to the vtter ruine of this realme committed to his charge : wherof will ensue some sharpe punishment at his hande. wherfore I pray God his grace may remember himself in time, and hearken to good Counsell, for the preservation of himself and his realme, and the quietnes of all Christendome ;” Which wordes being ended he was conveyed back againe to the towre of london, part on foote, and part on horseback, with a lyke number of men bearing halberds and other weapons about him, as was before at his coming to arraignment. And when he was come to the towre gate, he turned him back to all his traine that had thus conducted him forward and backward, and said vnto them, “my maisters, I thanke you all for the great labor and paines ye have taken with me this daie, I am not able to geue you any thinge in recompence, for I have nothinge left, and therefore I praie accept in ¹good part my hartie thanks :” and this he spake with so lustie a corrage, so amiable a countenance, and with so fresh and livelie a colour, as he seemed rather to haue come from a great feast or a banquet, then from his Arraignment, shewing by all his iestures and outward countenance such ioy and gladnes, as it was easie to perceave how earnestly he desired in his hart to be in *that* blessed state for which he had so longe labored ; wherof he made the surer account, for that he was thus innocently condemned for Christ's Cause.

Thus beinge after his Condemnation the space of foure daies in his prison, he occupied himself in continuall praier most fervently, and although he looked daily for death, yet could ye not haue perceived

¹ Fol. 98.

him one whitt difmaide or difquieted thereat, nether in word nor countenance, but ftill continewed his former trade of conftancie and patience, and that rather with a more ioyfull cheere, and free minde then euer he had done before, which appeared well by this Chaunce that I will tell you. There happened a falfe rumor to rife fodenly amonge the people, that he fhould be brought to his execucion by a certaine daie, whervpon his Cooke that was wonte to drefse his dinner and carrie it daily vnto him, hearing among others of this execucion, drefsed him no dinner at all that daie, wherfore at the Cookes next repaire vnto him, he demaunded the caufe why he brought him not his dinner as he was wonte to doe. "Sir" (faid *the* Cooke), "it was comonly talked all the towne ouer that you fhould haue dyed *that* daie, and therefore I thought it but in vaine to drefse anie thing for you." "Well," faid he merrily to him againe, "for all that report thou feeft me yet alive, and therefore whatfoeuer newes thou fhalt heare of me hereafter, let me no more lacke my dinner, but make yt readie as thou art wont to doe, and yf thou fee me dead when thou commeft, then eat it thyfelf; but I promife thee, yf I be alive, I mind by god's grace to eate neuer a bitt the leffe."

¹ Thus while this bleffed Bifhop, and moft reuerend Cardinall, lay daily expecting the houre of his death, the king (who no leffe defired his death then himfelf looked for it) caufed at laft a writt of execution to be made, and brought to *Sir* Edmund walingham, Leiuetenent of the towre. But where by his iudgment at *Westminfter*, he was condemned (as ye haue heard before) to drawing, hanginge, and quarteringe, as traytors always be, yet was he fpared from that cruell execucion, not for any pittie or clemencie ment on the kings part towards him. But the only caufe therof (as I have credibly heard) was for that, yf he fhould haue bene laid vpon a hardell and drawne to Tyborne, being *the* ordinarie place for that purpofe, and diftant above two miles from *the* Towre, it was not vnlykely, but he would haue bene deade longe ere he had come there, feeling he was a man of great age, and befides *that* verie fickly and weake of body, through his longe imprifonment. wherfore order was taken that he fhould be ledd noe further then to the Towre hill, and there to have his heade ftrooke of.

¹ Fol. 98, back.

After the Leiftennant had received this bloodie writte, he called vnto him certaine perfons, whose fervice and prefence was to be used in that bufines, commaunding them to be readie againft *the* next day in the morninge, and becaufe it was then verie late in the night, and the prifoner afleepe, he was loath to diffeafe him from his reft for that time, and fo in the morninge before five of the Clocke he came to him in his chamber in the bell towre, finding him yet afleepe in his bedd, and waked him, fhewing him *that* he was come to him on a meffage from the kinge; and after fome circumftances ¹ vfed with perfuafion that he fhould remember himfelf to be an ould man, and that for age he could not by courfe of nature live longe; he tould him at the laft that he was come to fignifie vnto him, that the king's pleafure was he fhould fuffer death that forenoone. "Well" (quoth this bleffed father), "yf this be *your* errand, you bringe me no great newes, for I have longe time looked for this meffage; and I moft humbly thanke the kings *majeftie* that it pleafeth him to ridd me from all this worldly bufines, and I thank you alfo for *your* tydings. But I prairie you, *maifter* Leivetennant" (faid he), "when is my houre that I muft goe hence?" "Your houre" (faid the leivetennant), "muft be nine of the clocke." "And what houre is it now?" faid he. "Yt is now about five," faid the Leivetenant. "Well, then" (faid he), "let me by *your* patience fleepe an houre or two, for I have fleep't verie little this night; and yet, to tell you the truth, not for any feare of death, I thanke god, but by reafon of my great infirmitie and weaknes." "The kings further pleafure is" (faid *the* Leivetenant), "that you fhould vfe as litle fpeech as may be, fpecially of any thing towching his *Maieftie*, wherby the people fhould have any caufe to thinke of him or his proceedings otherwife then well." "for that" (faid he), "you fhall fee me order myfelf as, by god's grace, nether the king nor any man els fhall have occafion to miftake of my wordes:" with which anfwere the Leivetenant departed from him, and fo the prifoner falling againe to reft fleep't foundly two houres and more. And after he was waked he called to his man to helpe him vp. But firft of all he commaunded him to fetch awaie the fhirte of heare which accuftomably he wore on his backe, and to convey it

¹ Fol. 99.

privily out of the howse, and in ftedd therof to laie him out a cleane white shirt, and all the best apparrell he had as cleanly brufhed as might be, and as he was in araying himself, his man, *perceavinge* in him a more curioftie and care for the fine *and* cleanly ¹wearinge of his apparrell that day then euer was wont to be before, demaunded of him what this fodaine change ment, faying that his lordship knew well ynough he muft put of all againe within two houres and loofe yt. "What of that?" (faid he); "doft thou not marke that this is our mariage daie, and that it behooveth vs therfore to vse more clenlineffe for folemnitie of *that* mariage?" About nine of the Clocke the Leiuetenant came againe to his prifon, and finding him almoft readie faid that he was now come for him. "I will waite vpon you ftraight" (faid he), "as faft as this thinne bodie of mine will geve me leave." Then faid he to his man, "reach me my furred tippet and put it about my necke." "O, my lord," quoth the Leiuetenant, "what need you be fo carefull for *your* health for this litle, being as *your* lordship knoweth not much above an houre?" "I thinke no otherwife" (faid this bleffed father), "but yet in *the* meane time I will keepe myself as well as I can till the verie time of my execucion: for I tell you truth, though I have (I thanke our lord) a verie good defire and willing minde to die at this *present*, and fo trust of his infinite mercie and goodnes he will continewe it, yett will I not willingly hinder my health in the meane time one minute of an houre, but ftill prolonge the fame as longe as I can by fuch reafonable waies and meanes as Almighty god hath provided for me." And with that, taking a litle booke in his hand, which was a new Teftament lying by him, he made a croffe on his foreheade and went out of his prifon doare with the Leiuetenant; ²being fo weake that he was fcaut able to goe downe *the* ftairs, wherfore at the ftaires foote, he was taken vp in a chaire between two of the Leiuetenants men, and carried to the towre gate with a great number of weapons about him to be deliuered to the Sheriffes of London for execution. And as they were come to the vttermoft pæcinct or libertie of the towre, they refted there with him a fpace, till fuch time as one was fent afore, to know in what redines the Sheriffes were to receiue him;

¹ Fol. 99, back.² Fol. 100.

during which fpace he rofe out of his chair, and ftandinge on his feete leaned his fhoulder to the wall, and lifting his eyes vp toward heaven he opened his litle booke in his hand and faid, "O lord, this is the laft time that euer I fhall open this booke, let fome comfortable place now chaunce vnto me, wherby I, thy poore fervant, maie glorifie thee in this [m]y ¹ laft howre," and with that, lookinge into the booke, the firft thinge that came to his fight, were thefe wordes, "*hec est autem vita eterna vt cognofcant te folum verum deum, et quem mififti Jefum Chriftum. Ego te clarificaui fuper terram opus confummavi quod dedifti mihi vt faciam : et nunc clarifica tu me pater apud temetipfum claritate quam habui priusquam, etc.*" And with that he fhutt the booke together and faid : "Here is even learning ynough for me even to my lives ende." And fo (the Sherifs being readie for him) he was taken vp againe amonge certaine of the Sheriffs men with a new and much greater companie ² of weapons then was before, and carryed to the Scaffolde on the towre hill, otherwife called eaft Smithfield, himfelf praying all the waie, and recording vpon the wordes which he before had read, and when he was come to the foot of the fcaffolde they that carried him offered to helpe him vp the ftaires ; but then faid he, "Naie, maifters, feeinge I am come fo farre let me alone, and ye fhall fee me fhifte for myfelf well ynough," and fo went vp the ftaires without any helpe fo lively, that it was marvaile to them that knewe before of his debillitie and weaknes. But as he was mounting vp the ftaires the fowtheaft fonne fhyned verie bright in his face ; whervpon he faid to himfelf thefe wordes, liftinge vp his handes, "*Accedite ad eum et illuminamini et facies veftræ non confundentur.*" By that time he was vp the Scaffold, it was about tenn of the Clocke, where the executioner being readie to doe his office kneeled downe to him (as the fafhion is) and afked him forgevenes. "I forgeve thee," faid he, "with all my harte, and I truſt thou fhalt fee me ouercome this ſtorme luſtily." Then was his gowne and typpett taken from him, and he ſtood in his dubblett and hofe in fight of all the people ; wherof was noe ſmall number aſſembled to ſee this horrible execution. There was to be ſeene, a longe, leane, and ſlender body, having on it litle other ſubſtance beſides the ſkynne and bones, in ſo much as

¹ MS. thy.² Fol. 100, back.

moſt part of the beholders marveled much to ſee a living man ſo farr confumed, for he ſeemed a verie Image of death, and as it were death in man's ſhape vſunge a man's voice, and therefore ¹monſtrous was it thought, that the kinge could be ſo cruell as to put ſuch a man to death, being alreadie ſo neere death as he was, yea, though he had bene an offender in deed. And ſurely it maie be thought that yf he had bene in the Turkes dominion and there found guiltie of ſome great offence; yet would the Turke neuer have put him to death, beinge alreadie ſo neere death. For it is an horrible and exceeding crueltie to kill that thing which is preſently dyinge, except it be for pittie ſake, to ridd it from longer paine; which in this Caſe appeared not, and therfore it maie be thought that the crueltie and hard hart of kinge Henrie in this point, paſſed all the Turkes and Tyrauntes that ever haue bene heard or read of.

When the innocent and holie Cardinall was come vpon the Scaffold, he ſpake to the people in effect as followeth: "Chriſtian people, I am come hither to die for the faith of *Chriſts* holy Catholick Church, and I thanke god hitherto my ſtomack hath ſerved me verie well therunto, ſo that yet I have not feared death: wherefore I do deſire you all to helpe and aſſiſt me with *your* praiers, that at the verie point and inſtant of deaths ſtroake, I maie in that verie moment ſtand ſtedfaſt without faintinge in any one point of the Catholick faith free from any feare; and I beſeech almightie god of his infinite goodnes to ſave the kinge and this Realme, and that it maie pleaſe him to holde his holy hand ouer yt, and ſend the king good Counſell." Theſe or lyke wordes he ſpake with ſuch a cheerfull countenance, ſuch a ſtowle and conſtant courage, and ſuch a reverent gravitie that ²he appeared to all men not only void of feare but alſo gladd of death. Beſides this he vttered his wordes ſo diſtinctly and with ſo lowde and cleere a voice, that the people were aſtonied therat, and noted it for a miraculous thinge to heare ſo plaine and audible a voice come from ſo weake and ſickly an ould bodie; for the yongeſt man in that preſence, being in good and perfect health, could not have ſpoken to be better heard and perceived than he was. Then after theſe fewe wordes by him vttered, he kneeled downe on both

¹ Fol. 101.² Fol. 101, back.

his knees and said certaine praier, amonge which (as some reported) one was the Hymne of *Te deum laudamus* to the end, and the psalme *In te domine speraui*. Then came the executioner & bound a hand-catcher about his eyes, and so this holy father lifting up his hands and hart to heaven, said a few praier which were not longe but fervent and devout, which being ended, he laid his holy head downe over the middest of the blocke, where the Executioner being readie with a sharp and heauie Axe cutt a funder his slender necke at one blowe, which bledd so abundantly that many wondred to see so much blood yssue out of so leane and slender a bodie; and so head and body being severed, his innocent soule mounted to the bliffull ioyes of heaven.

And as concerninge the head the Executioner put it into a bagge, and carryed it awaie with him, meaninge to have set it vpon London bridge that night as he was commanded. But it was reported that the ladie Ann Bullen, who was the cheef cause of this holy mans death, had a certaine desire¹ to see the head before yt were sett vp; whervpon being brought vnto her, she beheld yt a space, and at last contemptuously said these or lyke wordes: "Is this head that so often exclaymed against me? I trust it shall neuer do me more harme;" and with that strykinge it vpon the mouth with the backe of her hand, hurte one of her fingers vpon a tooth that stood somewhat more out then the rest did: which finger after grewe fore, and puttinge her to paine many daies after, was neuerthelesse cured at last with some difficultie. But after it was healed the marke of the hurt place remayned to be seene till her dyinge day. This maie seem strange, as a rare example of cruell bouldnes in that sexe, which by nature is fearfull and cannot well behould such spectacles, and therefore argues no doubt a wonderfull malice, which she by lykelyhood bare to the holy man living, that could thus cruelly vse his head beinge dead: Then strippinge the bodie out of his shirte and all his cloathes, he departed thence, leauinge the headles carcasse naked vpon the scaffold, where it remained after that sort for the most part of that daie, savinge that one for pittie and humanitie cast a litle strawe vpon his privities; and about eight of the clock in the eveninge, com-

¹ Fol. 102.

maundment came from the kings Counfell, to such as watched about the dead bodie (for it was still watched with manie halberds and weapons), that they should cause it to be buried. Whervpon two of *the* watchers tooke it vpon a halbert betweene them, and so carried it to a church yard there hard by, called Allhallows Barking, where on the north side of the Church hard by the wall they digged a grave with their halberdes, and therein without any reuerence tumbled the bodie of this holy prelate and ¹bleffed Martyr all naked and flatt vpon his bellie, without ether fheet or other accuftomed thinge belonging to a chriſtian mans buriall, and so covered it quickly with earth, followinge herein the kings commaundment, who willed it shoud be buried contemptuously. And this was done on the daie of St. Albane the prothomartyr and first martyr of Englande, being Tuesday the xxijth of Iune, in the yere of our redemption 1535, and the xxvijth yere of king Henries raigne, after he had lived full three-score and fixteene yeares nyne mounthes and odd daies.

The next daie after his buriall, the head beinge somewhat perboyled in hott water, was pricked vpon a pole and sett on high vpon London bridge, amonge the rest of the holy Carthusians heades that suffred death lately before him. And here I cannot omitt to declare vnto you the miraculous fight of this head, which after it had stand vp the space of xiiij daies vpon the bridge could not be perceived to waite nor consume, nether for the weather, which then was verie hott, neither for the parboylinge in hott water, but grewe daily fresher and fresher, so that in his life time he neuer looked so well; for his cheekes being bewtified with a comly redd, the face looked as though it had beholden the people passinge by, and would have spoken to them, which many tooke for a miracle ²that Almightye god was pleased to shew aboue the course of nature in thus preservinge the fresh and lively color of his face farr passinge the color he had beinge alive, wherby was notified to the worlde the innocencie and holines of this bleffed father, that thus innocently was contented to loose his head in defence of his mothers heade, the holy Catholick Church of Christ. Wherefore the people cominge daily to see this strange sight, the passage ouer the bridge was so stopped

¹ Fol. 102, back.

² Fol. 103.

with their goinge and comminge, that almost nether Cart nor horse could passe: And therefore at the end of xiiij daies the Executioner commaunded to throwe downe the heade in the night time into the river of Thames, and in place therof was sett the head of the most blessed and constant Martyr Sir Thomas Moore, his companion *and* fellowe in all his troobles; who suffred his passion the vjth day of Julye next followinge.

And towching the place of his buriall in Barking Church yard, it was well observed at that time by diuers worthie parsonages of the nations of Italie, Spaine, and Fraunce, that were then abidinge in the realme, and more dilligently noted and wrote the course of things, *and* with lesse feare and suspition then any of the kings subiects might or durst doe: that for the space of vij yeares after his buriall there grewe nether leafe nor grasse vpon his grave, but the earth still remained as bare as though it had bene continewally occupied *and* trodden.

¹ When by common fame this bloodie execution was blowne and spredd abroad, straight waie the name of kinge Henrie began to growe odious amonge all good people, not only in his owne Realme at home, but also amonge all forraine princes and nations abroad through *Christendome*, which specially appeared in the most worthie Pope Paule the third, who with great greefe signified this horrible and barbarous crueltie by his feuerall letters to the *Christian* princes, openly detestinge the outrage of kinge Henrie in committing such a wicked and manifest inurie, not only against the freedome and priuledge of the Church of Rome, but also against the whole state of *Christes* vniverfall Church, for the which, in short space after, he pronounced the tirrible sentence of excommunication against him.

Lykewise the most noble and Christian Emperor Charles the vth, at such time as Sir Thomas Moore was beheaded, and word therof brought to him, he sent speedily for Sir Thomas Elliott, the kings Ambassador, there resident with him, and asked him whether he heard any such newes or noe; who answered him that he heard noe such thinge. ² "Yea" (said the Emperour), "it is trewe, and too true that Sir Thomas Moore is now executed to death as a good

¹ Fol. 103, back.

² Fol. 104.

Bishopp hath lately bene before;" and with that (geving a figth) said: "Alas, what ment the kinge to kill two such men: for" (said he) "the Bishopp was such a one, as for all purpofes (I thinke) *the* kinge had not the lyke againe in all his Realme, nether yet was to be matched through *Christendome*; So that" (said he) "the king, *your maifter*, hath (in killinge that Bishopp) killed at one blowe all the bishoppes in England," meaning (no doubt) that this bishop, considering his pastorall care and constant profession of his bishopply duty in defence of the Church, in respect of the rest of his brethren, did only deserve the name of a bishopp. "And Sir Thomas Moore" (said he) "was well knowne for a man of such profound wifdome, cunninge, and vertue, that yf he had bene towards me as he was towards the kinge *your maifter*, I had rather have lost the best Cittie in all my dominion then such a man."

And in lyke manner kinge Frauncis, the french kinge, though in some respects a man wished to be otherwise then he was, yet talkinge on a time with Sir John wallop, *the* kings Ambaffador, of those two blessed men, tould him plainly that ether the kinge his *maifter* had verie ill counsell about him, or els himself had a verie hard hart, that could put to death two such worthie men, as the lyke were not again within his realme: wherof kinge Henrie being aduertised tooke it verie ill at the hands of king Frauncis for fo reporting of him, sayinge, that he did nothings but *that* himself was first made privie to yt.

¹But generally amonge all *Christen* people kinge Henrie was both ill thought and ill spoken of, as no doubt but there was great cause, for fundrie consideracions, as well for the innocent death of this blessed father as of diuers other blessed men, both spirituall and temperall: wherof some dyed before him and some after him, though in all respects no one comparable to him, partly for his great age, partly for his profound learninge, partly for his sanctitie of life, and partly for his great and high dignities. as after shall be declared unto you.

In stature of bodie he was tall and comly, exceeding the common and middle sort of men: for he was to the quantitie of 6 foote in

¹ Fol. 104, back.

height, and being therewith verie slender and leane, was neuertheles vpriight and well framed, straight backed, bigg ioynted and strongly fynewed. His hear by nature black, though in his later time, through age and imprifonment, turned to hoarenefs or rather whitenes, his eyes longe and rounde, nether full black nor full graie, but of a mixt color between both; his forehead smooth and large, his nose of a good and even proportion, fomewhat wide mouthed and bigg iawed, as one ordained to vtter speech much, wherin was notwithstandinge a certaine comlineffe; his skinne fomewhat tawnie mixed with manie blew vaines; his face, handes, and all his bodie fo bare of flesh as is almost incredible, which came the rather (as may be thought) ¹by the great abstinence and pennance he vsed vpon himself many yeres together, even from his youth. In his countenance he bare such a reuerend gravitie, and therewith in his doings exercised such discrete feveritie, that not only of his equals, but even of his superiors he was both honored and feared. In speech he was verie milde, temperat, and modest, saving in matters of god and his charge, which then began to trouble the worlde; and therein he wolde be earnest above his accustomed order. But vainly or without cause he would neuer speake, nether was his ordinarie talke of common worldly matters, but rather of *the* Divinitie and high power of god; of the ioys of heaven and the paines of hell; of the glorious death of martirs, and streight lyfe of Confessors, with such lyke vertuous and profitable talke, which he alwaies vttered with such a heavenly grace, that his wordes were alwaies a great edifyinge to his hearers. He had such a continewall impression of death in his hart, that his mouth neuer ceased to vtter the inward thoughts of his minde, not only in all times of his exercise, but also at his meales; for he would alwaies saie that the remembrance of death came neuer out of season. And of his owne death he would now and then (as occasion of speech was geven) cast out such wordes as though he had some foreknowledge of the manner of his death. For divers of his Chaplens and howshould servants have reported that longe before his death they haue heard him say that he should not die in his bedd; but alwaies in speaking therof he

¹ Fol. 105.

would vtter his wordes with fuch a cheerfull countenance ¹as they might easly perceiue him rather to conceiue ioy then forrowe therat. In ftudie he was verie laborious, and painfull, in preachinge affiduous, euer beating downe herefie *and* vice; in praier moft fervent and devout; in fafting, abftinence, and punifhing of his bare bodie, rigorous without meafure. And generally in all things belonginge to the care and charge of a trew bifhopp, he was to all the bifhops of England living in his daies the verie mirrour *and* lanterne of light. In his time he wrote many famous *and* learned workes, wherof fo manie as haue come to our knowlege I have thought good to notifie vnto you.

(The list of books is omitted, and a note in the margin says: "here wants the cataloge of books.")

²Many other learned treatifes this profound Doctour wrote with great dilligence, wherof no more came to light, becaufe he lived not to finifh them; but my felf have feene divers of them, and fome others I have heard of by report of good and credible perfons. And it was once tould me by a reuerend father, that was Deane of Rochefter many yeares together, named *Maifter* Phillips, That on a time in the daies of kinge Edward the fixt, when certaine *Commiffioners* were coming towards him to fearch his howfe for books, he for feare burned a large volume, which this holy bifhop had compiled, contayning in yt the whole ftorie and matter of divorce, which volume he gave him with his owne hand a litle before his trooble for the loffe wherof the deane wold manie times after lament, and wifh the booke whole againe, vpon condic'ion that he had not one groat to live on. Many other of his workes were confumed by the iniquitie of hereticks, which fhortly after his death fwarmed thicke in euery place, and grew into great credit, doing therby what themfelves lifted. And, as it hath bene reported by a good ould preift, called *maifter* Buddell, who in his youth wrote many of his books for him, ther came to him on a certaine time, in the fore faid king Edwards daies, a minifter, by authoritie of him that then occupied the Sea of Rochefter, and tooke from him as many written bookes and papers of this holy mans labors as loaded a horfe, and, carrying them to his *maifter*, they were all afterwards burned (as he heard faie) by the

¹ Fol. 105, back.

² Fol. 106.

maifter minifter *and the man*. ¹This *maifter* Buddell was then Parfon of Cookeftone, in kent, not far from Rochefter, where he yet liveth a verie ould man, and declareth many notable things of the auftere life and vertue of this holy man.

But, although many of his doings were thus obfcured and loft by this wicked meane, yet fhall his name neuer die, nor be darkned, fo longe as the reft of his writings fhall remaine, nor yet fo longe as the wortheie wrytings of fo many other profound Doctors fhall be extant, which after his daies wrote highlie to his laude and praife: wherof, although the number be verie great, and would require a whole volume to exprefse them all, yet I cannot omitt to fet forth vnto you the fayings of fome of them, beinge as they are of fuch great authoritie, credit, and worthines.

And, firft to begin at our holy Father, Pope Paule the third, he, wryting (as before is faid) to the Princes of *Chriftendome*, of the moft wicked and cruell dealinge of kinge Henrie againft this godlie man, wrote amonge others one letter to Ferdinando, kinge of Romans, which myfelf have feene and redd. In this letter, after great complaint made of kinge Henrie for killing of fuch a man, whom he before for his great fanctitie and vertue had inrolled into the number and focietie of the Cardinalls, hoping therby that all fhould have turned to his better fafetie *and* deliverance, becaufe that dignitie in all places hath ever bene accounted for holy, yet now falling out otherwife; ²he taketh occafion to compare the doings of king Henrie the eight to the doings of his progenitors, king Henrie the feconde: and this holy father he compareth, or rather preferreth, to the holy martyr, *Saint Thomas* of Canterburie, fayinge *that* this king Henrie did not only renewe the impietie of that king Henrie, but alfo went far beyond him: for where he flewe one, this flew many. *Saint Thomas* defended the right of one particuler Church, this of the vniuerfall Church: That kinge killed an archbifhopp, but this kinge hath put to death a Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome. That kinge exiled *Saint Thomas* by longe banifhment, but this kinge tormented this holie man by long and hard imprifonment. He fent vnto *Saint Thomas* certaine hired men to kill him: to this was affigned only a hangman.

¹ Fol. 106, back.

² Fol. 107.

He caused *Saint Thomas* to be flaine by a forcible death, but this by a shamefull torment hath killed the holy man of god. He, in conclusion, fought to purge himself before Alexander the third, and layinge the falte vpon others, did with humilitie take vpon him such pennance as was to him inioyned by the Bishop of Rome. But this, with a most obstinat minde, defended his owne horrible fact, shewing with a most earnest desire himself not only vnwilling to pennance, but also becometh a stubborne and rebellious enemye against the Church of Rome.

Then consider what that man of happie memorie, Cardinal Poole, wryteth of him in fundrie places of his workes, who in his life time both knewe him, and was familiarly acquainted with him. But specially in that booke which he wrote ¹to kinge Henrie the eight intituled *Pro ecclesiastica vnitatis defensione*, wherein he extolleth the name of this blessed Prelate with wordes accordinge to his great worthines, sayinge to the kinge, that yf an ambassador had bene to be sent from earth to Heaven, there could not amonge all the Bishoppes and Clergie so fitt a man be chosen as he; for what other man, saith he, haue *the* present, or of many yeres past haue ye had comparable with him in sanctitie, learninge, wisdom, and carefull dilligence in the office and dutie of a bishop? of whom ye may iustly above all other nations glorie and reioyce: that if all the corners of Christendome were narrowly fought, there could not be found out any one man that in all things did accomplish the partes and degrees of a bishopp equall with him. Further, in the same place he lawdeth him highly for his great travell *and* care in the educacion of youth, specially of the yonger students in the vniuersitie of Cambrige, for that by his only meane and motion that noble and right vertuous Ladie Margaret, Countesse of Richmound and Darbie, sometime his *Mistresse*, erected two famous Colleges in the vniuersitie (as before in this Historie hath bene declared) wherein yonge schollers receive great comfort towards their instruction in learninge: vnto which number himself became also a patron and father. ²And, beinge after chosen by the whole consent of *the* vniuersitie, to the roome of their high Chauncellor, he became no

¹ Fol. 107, back.

² Fol. 108.

lesse carefull over them then over the flocke of his Dioceffe. All which, with manie other high praifes, this moft vertuous, learned, and noble borne Cardinall, fetteth out very bountiffully of him.

Lykewife, blessed Sir Thomas Moore, his Companion and fellow in aduerfitie and trooble, vpon occasion of talke miniftred vnto him by his daughter, *Miftris Roper*, about refufinge the Oath: by my lord of Rocheſter and himſelf, faith in a certaine epiſtle written to ſaid daughter, that he hath him in ſuch a reuerrend eſtimacion, as for his wiſdome, learning, and longe approved vertue together, he reckoneth in this realme noe one man to be matched or compared with him.

Furthermore, the renowned biſhopp of Nuceria, and moſt eloquent Hyſtoriographer of our time, Paulus Jovius; although he lacketh no commendacion of him through his whole Hiſtorie, yet in one place ſpecially he faith: that vpon the acceptance of his great charge of a biſhoprick, he became ſo vigilant over his flocke the ſpace of many yeres together, that he was to be woundred at, ¹not on'ly of his owne countrie people at home, but alſo of all other outward nations: then he greatly reuerrenceth him for his conſtant pietie in defendinge the maryage between kinge Henrie and his lawfull wife Queene Catherin, and for withſtandinge the kings wilfull minde in takinge vpon him ſo abſurdly the name and tytle of ſupreame head of *the* church, for the which he did not reſuſe, even in his ould age, to ſuffer the loſſe of libertie, livings, lyfe, and all.

Then waighe what is ſaid of him by that moſte eloquent and learned father of our daies, Staniflaus Hoſius, biſhopp of Warmia in Poland, and Cardinall of Rome, in his Booke of Conſutacion againſt Brentius the Hereticke. His wordes beinge thus: *fatemur et nos Brenti, etc.*; wherein he ſheweth verie notably howe, although in all ages Heretickeſ haue liſte vp themſelves againſt the Church of god, yet hath he not forſaken or leſte her deſtitute at any time, nether doth he yet forſake her at this daie. For againſt Arrius god raiſed thoſe notable and excellent men, Liberius, Athanaſius, and Hillarius. when Macedonius ſpronge, he brought into the feild againſt him, Damafus, Gregorius Nazianzenus and Baſilius. At an other time Neſtorius

¹ Fol. 108 back.

brake out, againſt him were ſent, Celeſtinus, biſhop of Rome, and Cirillus, Archbiſhop of Alexandria. Then yſſued out (I wott not from what dungeon) the Hereticke Eutiches, againſt whom he ſet *the ſtrong and mightie* Leo. ¹Lykewife Ireneus againſt Valentinus; Tertulian againſt Martian; Origen againſt Celfus; Ciprian againſt Novatus; *Saint* Jerom againſt Helvidius, Jovinianus, Vigilantius, *and the* luciferans; St. Auguſtine againſt the donatiſts and Pellagians; Agatho againſt the monothelits; Tarafius againſt the Icomomians; Lanfrank, Sirmond and Alger againſt Beringarius; Petrus Clinacenſis againſt *the* Henricians and Petrobruſſians; *Saint* Bernard againſt Adelherdus. And generally, in what time ſoeuer hereſies have ſhewed forth their hornes, there have alwaies bene by the ſingular benefit of god, ſuch worthie men for witt, learninge, *and* eloquence as have confuted them, partly by authoritie of ſcriptures, and partly by tradition of the Church. Nether hath god in theſe our vnfortunate daies, failed his church; for wheras you Lutherans are broken forth, and from you are ſprunge Zwinglians, Munneccrans or Patrimontanes, and a number of horrible ſects of hereticks moe; god hath produced againſt you into the battell many worthie men indewed with ſingular witt and excellent learninge, by whom your raginge madnes might be ſuppreſſed *and* put downe: Amonge whom ſpecially and by name, was that famous holy man, John Fyſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, who in defence of the faith and catholick church of *Chriſt*, neuer ſtoock for the loſſe of his life and ſheedinge of his blood.

²Finally, whoſoeuer ſhall reade the workes of Cocleus wiſellius, Eckius, and others, learned writers of Germanie; of the worthie biſhop and eloquent wryter, Oforius; of Alphonſus de Caſtro, and others of Spaine and of Portugall; beſides a number of ſuch other learned fathers of many nations, wherof ſome lived in his owne daies, and ſome ſince, ſhall eaſily perceiue that he was a man, for his profound learninge and rare vertue, highly reuerenced and eſteemed throughout *Chriſtendome*.

And, no doubt, but yf his writings and doings be well compared, ye ſhall find him moſt lyke vnto thoſe holy fathers and

¹ Fol. 109.

² Fol. 109, back.

Doctors that in the primative Church, laid the very first ground and foundation of our beleef, vpon *the* which we haue since rested and staid our selves: whom to describe wholly and fully vnto you according to his worthines, I will not take vpon me, nether am I able to do it. No, were I as eloquent as Cicero, or as wittie and subtil as Aristotile, as copious as Demosthenes, or as profound in philosophie as Plato: such, and so innumerable, were his singuler vertues. But herin I will content myself with the generall commendacions which all the famous vniuersities of Divinitie in Europe do geve this learned bishop, calling him blessed Martyr, and aleadging his workes for great authoritie.

¹ Thus much I may also saie, that vnto Iustus his predeffessor, the first bishop of Rochester, he was a iust and true successor. The place of his birth he doth greatly bewtifie, with *the* glorious bishop, *Saint John* of Beuerley. To the countrie of kente, where he was bishop, he is an ornament with *Saint Thomas* of Canterburie. In gravitie of his wrytinge he is to be reuerenced with faint Bede; for stowt defendinge the right and libertie of the holy Church against the power of princes, he is not inferior to the blessed bishop *Saint Ambrose* and *Saint Chrysostome*. In prayinge for his enemies and persecutors he resembleth holy *Saint Stephen*. In constancie and stowtnes of his martirdome he was a seconde Cyprian. But, above all others, he is most to be lykened and compared to that holy prophett and martyr of god, *Saint John Baptist*. And first, to set a side the congruence in their names of John, it is to be noted, that as that John lived in wildernes a hard and solitarie life, in pennance and punishment of himself, so this John lived a solitarie and austere life in his private howse and Cell (saving when he was called abroad to other busines), punishing himself with studie, hard lodginge vpon the matts, fastinge, prayinge, wearing of haire shirtes, and whippinge himself. Lykewise, as that John preached dilligently the comminge of Christ at hande, gevinge knowledge of salvation to all them that would beleue and be baptised. So this John, with lyke dilligence and care warned *the* people by his continewall preachinge, and wrytinge of Christes departure at hand, in case they stopped not

¹ Fol. 110.

their eares againſt thoſe horrible hereſies daily ¹preached and ſet forth vnto them. And as that John dyed for a caſe of matrimonie, ſayinge to kinge Herod: It is not lawfull for thee to have thy brothers-wife. So this John dyed for a Caſe in matrimonie, contrarie in apparence, but agreeable in ſubſtance and truth, ſaying vnto kinge Henrie: It is not lawfull for thee to put awaie thy wife and take an other, though ſhe were once thy brothers wife, ſeeinge thy brother is dead without yſſue, and thou nowe lawfully maryed vnto her by diſpenſacion and authoritie of the Church. for Herod (whom *Saint* John Baptiſt reprehended) tooke to him his brothers wife, his brother livinge, which (as manifeſtly repugning to gods lawe) could not be done. But kinge Henrie tooke his brothers wife when his brother was dead, without yſſue of her, which by Moyſes law is not in that Caſe forbidden, and by the authoritie of the Church may be permitted, as this was: and therefore was the mariage good and lawfull, and conſequently the ſecond, deteſtable and vnlawfull. furthermore, as that Johns heade was begged of kinge Herod at a banquet, by a pſaltreſſe or woman dauncer, ſo this Johns head was begged by a lyke perſon of kinge Henrie, as he ſate banquettinge and cheeringe at his howſe of Hanworth. As that John was beheaded on the birth daie of kinge Herod, ſo this John was beheaded on the birth daie of kinge Henrie, the kinge having *that* day accompliſht the iuſt age of five and fortie yeres. ²And as the holy finger of that John, which pointed to the lambe when he ſaid "*Ecce agnus dei,*" was miraculoſly preſerved from corruption longe after his death and martyrdome, ſo the holy head of this John wherwith he ſtowtly defended the head of our holy mother the Church, was by miracle preſerved longe after his martyrdome with a freſh and lively colour, till by commaundment of the kinge it was taken away and conveyed out of ſight. finally, as in the perſon of *that* John there dyed 3 notable functions or offices at once, That is to ſaie, of a preiſt, a prophett, and a patriarke, ſo in the perſon of this John there dyed 3 lyke worthie vocacions, That is to ſay, a preiſt, a Biſhop, and a Cardinall. And thus we ſee how the death of our holy John may be compared to *Saint* John Baptiſts death.

¹ Fol. 110, back.² Fol. 111.

And, yet in verie deed, for some respects it furpaffeth the death of *Saint John*; and *the* wicked doings of kinge Henrie furpaffeth lykwife the wicked doings of kinge Herod. for *Saint John* Baptift reprehended Herod, and would not alowe his Acte in taking only his brothers wife, but kinge Henrie (whom this, our holy John, reprehended) put awaie his lawfull and vertuous wife, and tooke to him (as is rehearsed) his owne vnlawfull daughter, made sure alreadie to another, and in honestie no better then an harlott. Herod was forie for his rash promise made to *the* woman dauncer, his daughter, when he heard her aske *Saint Johns* head, but kinge Henrie was nothinge at all forie for the promise he made of this holy Johns heade, but wilfully and maliciously fought all vnlawfull meanes to cut it from the bodie, nether respecting his age, ¹his vertue, his learninge, sanctitie of life, dignitie, nor other quallitie in his worthie personage. The fact of kinge Herod, for which *Saint John* dyed, did most concerne the iniurie which Herod did to his brother, whose wife he tooke. But the fact of kinge Henrie, wherfore our blessed John dyed, did not only tuche the iniurie committed against the vertuous ladie, his lawfull wife, but it contayned the expresse contempt of our holy father the Pope, and of the authoritie of the Catholicke Church besides the occasion of finne and scandall which it gave to the partie *that* did pretend title to her, whom the king would needes marrie. But what should I speake of Herode, whose crueltie was nothinge to be compared to this kinge, for in malice which he shewed to a great number of holy and learned men, principally to this, our holy father, he had neuer yet his like bearing the name of Christ, and professing his faith. In vnthankfulnes he was much worfe then Alexander, for he did not only nothinge consider the great affiaunce which his noble father, king Henrie the vijth, had in this holy man, making him at his death one of his executors (as we haue before mentioned), nothing wayinge the singuler affeccion and credit that his grandmother, that worthie ladie Margaret, Countesse of Richmond ²and Darbie, had in him above all the Prelats and bifhops of the land: but setting at nought the great vertue, learninge, and holines which he perfectly knewe to be in him so rare a bifhop, and vtterly

¹ Fol. 111, back.² Fol. 112.

forgettinge the honor and fame which by him both he and all his realme had gotten, lyke a most vnthankfull prince, and most contemptuous of his foueraigne and holy father, the head of Christs church in earth, fought out most wickedly all the meanes he coulede to intrappe this holy bishop and vertuous Cardinall, and contrary both to the lawe of god and decrees of our holy mother, the Church, beinge a meere laie prince, and so havinge no authoritie nor iurisdiction wherby he might lawfully thus proceed against an annointed bishop and Cardinall of the Church of Rome, but that by entendinge the least of the waies which he vsed against him, must of necessity incurre the fore and greivous censure of *excommunication*, accompanied with many other daungers and inconveniences more then can well be rehearsed. He (I saie), contemninge all these, did most wickedly take vpon him and vsurpe the authoritie which before his daies, neuer *Christen and Catholyke* prince did, and (which John Calvin, an Heretick, did vtterly detest and condemne in him) against all law and reason most cruelly put to death this man of god, ouer whom, nether by law nor custome he could haue any criminall iurisdiction, but ought (yf he had made an offence) to have referred the hearing and discussing of his crime to his metropolitan, ¹or rather to the cheefe head of all bishopps, to whom only the iudgment and hearinge of a bishopps crime in a spirituall cause (as this was) doth and alwaies hath of right appertained. And as the enormities of king Henrie in this case were so exorbitant, and surpassing all lawe, reason, and conscience, so is the wonderfull working of Almighty god (whose iudgments are secret and strange in our sights) much to be marked and noted in him and his adherents. for as god of his owne nature is patient and longe sufferinge, because he expecteth the amendment of our sinfull lives, so is he also iust in his doings, and punisheth greivously where no amendment is indeavored, as now may well be perceived by these persons that were persecutors of this blessed man, for they escaped not the daunger of his heauie hand, as shall be declared vnto you.

And first, to begin with the ladie Ann Bullen as the cheef and principall cause for whom all this wofull tragedie begun, who was

¹ Fol. 112, back.

also cheef persecutor of this holy man ; marke how she was in short space after caste downe from the topp of her high honor and dignitie wherein she was exalted, and for a most foule *and* abhominable incest committed with her owne brother, besides fundrie adultries with other persons, was throwne into cruell and straye prison, where she remained not longe before she was condemned to death by fundrie noble men of this realme, that lately before were full plyable and readie to please her in all her commaundments, wherof some were ¹neere of kindred to her ; yea, one of them her owne father : according to which condemnation she was put to open and shamefull execution of death, leavinge behind her nothings but an infamous name to continue for euer. Of whose losse the kinge himself tooke so litle forrowe, that the verie next daie after she was dead he was maryed to another wife.

Next that, the lord Crumwell is to be remembred, who with great dilligence folicited the matter to the kinge, and earnestly provoked him in this and manie other ill purposes. He, beinge advaunced to such honor and authoritie as no man in this realme at that time bare the lyke about the kinge, grewe at last into such hatred amonge the noble men and commons throughout the realme for his intollerable *and* tirannicall crueltie exercised ouer them, that finally he was by fundrie practises brought also into the kings displeasure, and so cast into miserable prison, condemned to death by Acte of Parliament for heresie and treason, and after executed accordinge to his iudgment, no man pitying his Case.

Then commeth to minde *maister* Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterburie, who of his owne powre without iust warrant or authoritie pronounced the sentence of divorce between the kinge and the queene, and after callinge this holy man before him and others, cast him into prison with as much extremitie as could be shewed for refusing the two new oathes, the one of the kings new marriage, the other of the Supremacie ²from whence he was neuer deliuered till death ridd him of all worldly cares. This *maister* Cranmer, although he continewd his place and dignitie duringe the vnnaturall and cruell times of kinge Henrie and the infant his sonne kinge Edward, yet at last in the

¹ Fol. 113.

² Fol. 113, back.

raigne of that most blessed ladie, Queene Marie, when the true light of iustice of Christs annient and Catholicke religion began againe to shine, he was called to a reckoninge for many of his former ill doings, And lastly, fstanding stiffe in diuers horrible and fowle heresies, was most worthily burnt with fire and consumed to ashes.

Lykewife *maister* Rich, the kings Solicitor, that gaue false testimony against him, and was forsworne at his arraignment in so falsely betrayinge him, Although for manie yeres after he continewed corruptly gathering together of welth till the daies of king Henrie were ended, yet haue I bene credibly informed, that yf the kinge had lived but a few daies longer then he did, he was growne into such displeasure against him for fundrie falsehoodes and deceits, in fraudulent purchasinge and exchangeinge of land between the kinge and him, wherein the kinge was deceaved of no small valewe: And lykewise for diuers bribes extorted vpon manie of his subiects, that he was finally determind to have attainted him of felonie, extortion, and periurie, and so in one howre to have spoyled him of all that great heape ¹which he so falsely had raked together in manie yeres before. But beinge after in the wicked time of the infants raigne aduanced to high honor and place far above his desert, yet lived he to be deposed againe of that place even by the same persons that preferred him. But since in the daies of that noble and blessed queen marie of worthie memorie, he became penitent (as I have heard) for many of his offences; for the which god permitted him (as it may be thought) to die in better order then the rest before did. But true it is that after his death his bodie escaped a narrow daunger of burninge: for at such time as he was dead and his bodie laid into a Coffin, ceared and balmed, and certaine Candells set vpon the herse, as the manner was; one of the Candells (ether by the will of god, or els by negligence of some of the watchers that were absent) fell downe, and tooke houlde first of the Clothes and after of the Coffin, that in the ende before any body was ware, the fire was fastned vpon the ceare-cloathes, where this miserable carcasfe laye, and had without all doubt consumed the same into ashes, had it not then bene speedily espied by certaine of the servants by chaunce, who saved all for that time,

¹ Fol. 114.

though not without great daunger to the bodie, and the rest of the howse also. All which so narrowe escapes I can impute to nothinge but only to the goodnes of god, for that he conceived (as before is said) some repentance, though I neuer heard of any penance by him done at all.

¹Lasfe of all it is worthie to be remembred how iustly the kinge himself was plagued first by the inordinat number of his wives, beinge in all vj, and not one lawfull more then the first, as maie be thought. Of these vj two were repudiate, two beheaded for incontinencie, one killed wittingly in childbed for saviage of her childe, and *the* fixt survived him, wherein her fortune was better then the rest of her fellowes: for (as I haue heard reported by such as had no cause to lie) he was wearie of her longe before he dyed, and therefore yf he had lived but one yere longer, ment to have framed such matter against her for heresie, as should haue cost her her lyfe as it did some others of her predefcessors before. And as for heire male of his body which he so much desired and made so great adoore for, as though the realme had bene vtterly vndone yf he had dyed without yssue male, we see that god for some purpose permitted him at last to have a sonne, rather (as it may be thought) that no fillie women should loose their lives for satiffying his licentious and vaine appetite, then for any other iust respect. But after his death the raigne of that sonne was verie short, and his yeres verie fewe; so is there no great matter praise worthie to be written of him. But of things done vnder the color of his name and authoritie have we all great cause to lament, which ²tended to nothinge els but the ouerthrowe and extirpacion of the Catholick faith here within this realme, as we felte and tasted, and should still have tasted daily more and more yf god had not taken him vpon some speciall favour (as may be thought) and mercifull pittie which at last he began to have of this poore afflicted countrey, reducinge it againe to the true and auncient faith, by the cutting awaie of such an impe, at whose handes we were not to looke for more grace then the father by his pernicious examples had grafted in so incestious and damnable a stocke. Then note his vnmercifull and vnspeakable crueltie, wherein he was once entred by the horrible

¹ Fol. 114, back.

² Fol. 115.

murder of this holy prelate, he conceived such a bouldnes, and therewithall was stroken with such a blindnes, *that* in crueltie he was to be accounted nothinge inferior to Nero, for whereas Nero committed execrable parricide in causinge his naturall mother to be flaine, and not satiate therewith commaundinge that in his presence her bellie should be opened to the entent (as he said) that vnnaturally he might beholde *the* place where he was conceived in her wombe. This kinge Henrie, an other Nero, did not only perpetrate parricide and sacriledge, but also that hainous treason of Heresie all at one clappe, whiles in ryppinge the bowells of his mother, *the* holy Church and verie spouse of Christ vpon earth, he labored to teare her in peeces, and dispyfinge her authoritie (beinge but one of her rotten members) monstrously tooke vpon him to be her supream head; for this only acte (if he had done nothinge els) alway was and by law is accounted ¹so enorme and exorbitant, that as he which withdraweth or detracteth from any peculier Church her right doth manifest iniurie and wronge, so he that goeth about to take awaie the *priviledge* of the Church of Rome, geuen of *Christ* himself, the supream head of all Churches, falleth into heresie. And wheras the other transgressor is to be termed iniurious and vnnaturall, this kind of offence in this is to be called both a scismaticke and an hereticke, for he doth violate faith and nature in attemptinge against *the* church, which is the mother of faith. But this our second Nero was not yet content with this abhominable acte, but heaped a great many moe vpon it, rasinge to the ground holy monasteries, Priories, and all other sorts of religious howses, profaininge them with all *the* holie reliques and precious ornaments dedicate to the service of god, not sparing the bloodshed of all such holy men and learned clerkes as preferred the pleasure of god and *commandment* of their mother the Catholick Church, before his vnlawfull lawes and wicked will. And for noble personages of this realme, both men and women, he spared nether kindred nor other, yea, many times for a word speakinge he would revenge by death, were it spoken vpon neuer so reasonable a ground or cause. By reason wherof more of the nobillity were consumed in his daies, then in any three of his predecessors since this realme was first

¹ Fol. 115, back.

inhabited, so that in murder (yf it be well considered) he passed *the* cruell ¹Turke Selyn. To this ioyne his licentious and wanton expences wherby he consumed the treasure of his realme, and then fallinge into lacke turned his gould and silver into Copper, and after (spendinge the same vnthrifely) tooke of his subiectes so excessiue, that neuer prince in this realme lived with lesse love and favor of all good people, though amonge flatterers and parrasites (amonge whom this treasure was spent) neuer any so highly magnified and extolled. Then consider how iustly he was plagued in his grosse bodie many yeres before his death, with sores and diseases that grewe vpon him, by meane of drunken surfettes, idlenes, sloth, and vitious trade of life, amonge women, sparing nether kindred nor other yf she lyked his carnall appetite, wherby he became at last so impotent and loathsome, that when the Surgeants shoud dresse him, it hath bene reported by some of his priue chamber that they have felte the ill fauour of his sores the space of two chambers before they came at him. Lastly and most of all, waie *the* daunger of his miserable foul dyinge in the perilous state of excommunication without reconciliacion or repentance, knowne or heard of to the worlde; yea, it hath bene reported by such as were about him at his end that he dyed almost in desperacion cryinge out vpon the phisitians because they could not cure him, Sayinge, "have I thus rewarded you with livings and geuen you fees, and none of you now able to helpe me when I have most need of *your* helpe." And with that callinge for Sir Anthonie Denny, an egregious flatterer about him, and comonly never farr from him, commaunded him to whipp them.

²And although he perceived at last that by no meanes he could escape death, yet what did he? Can any man report *that* in all the time of his sicknes he once called to god for mercie and forgiuenes of his former wretched life: no truly. But somtimes lying in a studie with himself, and somtimes sorrowinge as seemed by his countenance, would sodenly saie, "oh! I must dye": "yea, Sir," would some or other saie somtime, "you must needs die once; so must I and euery man here, but I trust you shall not die nowe." "Alas" (would he saie againe), "thinkest thou that I shall be saved when I die? for I have

¹ Fol. 116.² Fol. 116, back.

bene a kinge, and lived lyke a kinge." And no doubt, but even as his life was finfull, so after his death god fhewed a strange example upon his wretched Carcasse, for at such time as it was in preparinge to be ceared and spiced, by the Surgions in the chamber at westminster, where he dyed, to be after removed downe to the Chappell, and so from thence to winfor, where it was buried; it chanced the said carcas by mishap and ouer boisterous liftinge to fall to the ground, out of which yssued such a quantitie of horrible and stinking filthie blood and matter, that it was no small trooble to a number about it to clenfe the place againe, and to make readie against the next daie for the remove. But before all could be done there came into the place (as I have bene credibly informed) a great black dogge, no man could tell from whence, which dogge (while euery ¹bodie was occupied) filled himself so full as his sides could hould with lycking vp his filthie blood that was spilde, and in the end escafed without hurt from the Garde and diuers others that strooke at him with their halberts and other weapons, meaninge verily to have killed him yf they coule.

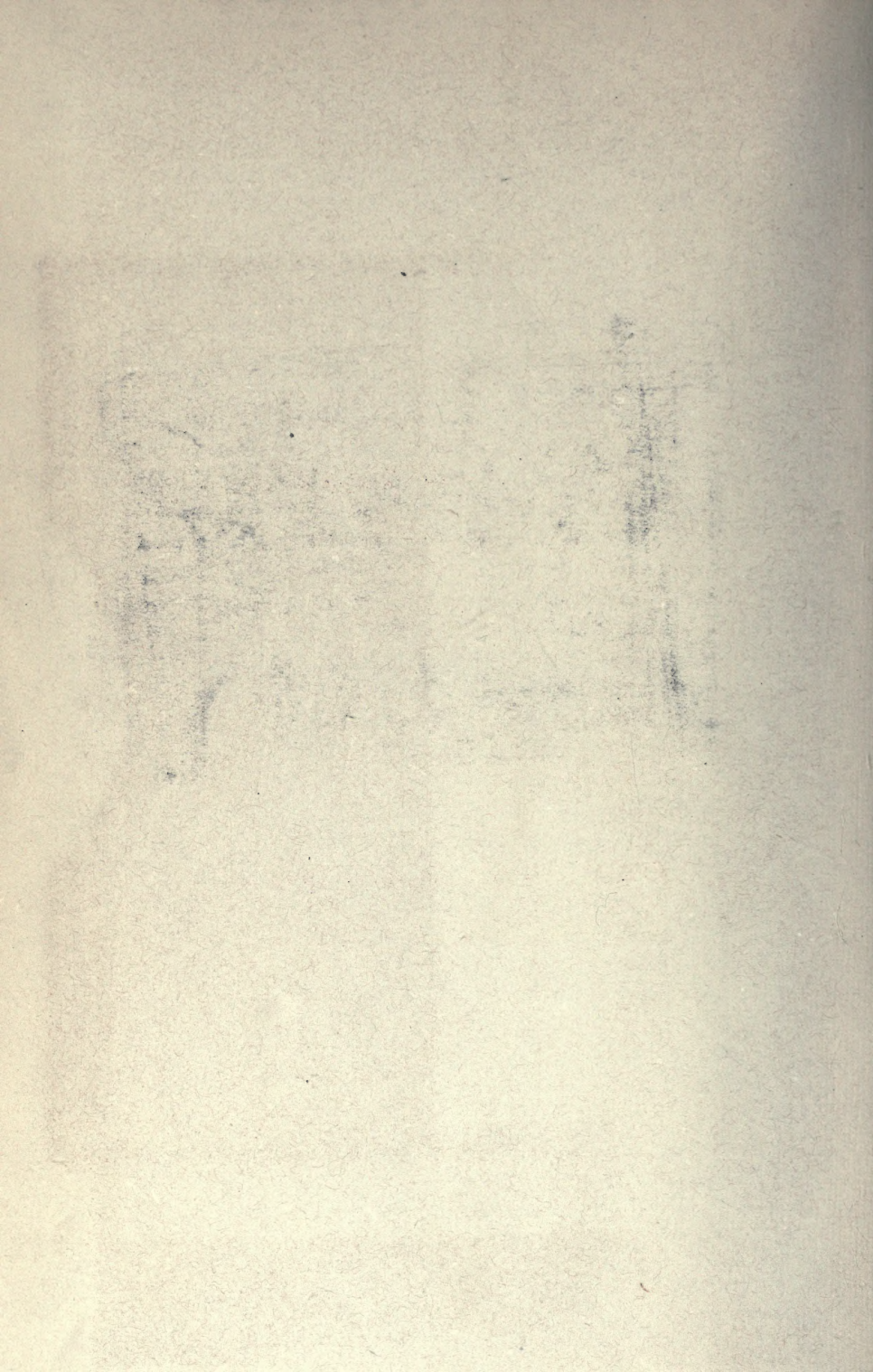
Others I could have named vnto you that were doers in this busines, and that of right great callinge, whom god worthily after finished, some by a fowle and shamefull ende, some by leauinge them without yssue or kindred, wherby their landes and goodes after their death came to the handes of straungers that fell in strife amonge them selves, others were attainted, and therby not only their owne bodies executed to shamefull death, but also their landes and goods beinge forfeited their children went a begginge. Some came to one mishap and some to another, which yf it were written at large would require a longe proceffe.

²These beinge manifest signes and tokens of Godes indignacion and heauie displeasure against this whole realme, for so cruell and horrible murderinge of his holy prophetts, it standeth vs in hand, and that speedily without delay, to prostrate ourselues before him, and with humilitie to beseech him of his infinite mercie and goodnes, that we be not accordinge to our desertes worthily punished, first in this world, by the intollerable yoke, and barbarous tyrannie of Infidells and Turkes

¹ Fol. 117. ² Fol. 118. Part of Fol. 117 and all Fol. 117, back, is blank.

and after in the world to come by euerlastinge paine and torment of hell fire. But that rather by the merritts and intercession of this holy Martyr, this noble realme may once againe be reftored to that auncient and trewe *Christian* faith in which our forefathers lived these thousand yeres and more: And that we *the* dwellers therin and our posteritie may once againe peaceably serue him in the same faith all the daies of our lives. And after in the world to come, glorifie him in his heavenly kingdome where he raigneth for ever and euer. Amen.

FINIS.



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